National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

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The Southern Press, South.

NORTHERN POLITICS.

We believe there is no State in the American Union whose admiration and fidelity to the Constitution, and whose obedience to the duties required of them by that sacred instrument, exceeds that of South Carolina. We also believe that, but for the tyrannical and unjust demands, harassing agitation, and insulting interposition of the Northern States and people, we would now enjoy all the protection, prosperity and happiness, designed and guaranteed by that great convention of our fathers, who established the Constitution and formed the Union.

The question of Slavery is made by our enemies a great moral or political question as it may suit their purpose. Accordingly, they require that we look to them for a system of moral principles, rules of political government and for instruction in all civil and municipal obligations. With a keen relish to attend to other men's matters, diligent search is made to discover some departure in our laws or institutions, from the laws of God, as written in the Bible. If it is supposed, by the most gross perversions, that the discovery has been made, all the curses of that Holy Book, against all the crimes of all mankind, in all ages of the world, are heaped upon us; and we are denounced by its authority as infidels, thieves, and murderers. But on the other hand, as it may suit times and places, when the divinity of that Book is appealed to, and its truth and sanctions attest and approve our laws and institutions, it is spurned and denounced as a Book of Falsehood, and its Author, the Christian's God, reviled as a Being of injustice and cruelty.

We pass on to consider another feature of the same dictatorial spirit, against which we have to contend: the omnipotence of numbers. It is claimed by those pretended lovers of the Constitution, that they have a right to pass *any law* in favor of which they can obtain a majority of the votes on the floor of Congress. That is to say, to be outvoted is to place us in the wrong; and for our comfort we are occasionally favored by some good soul with a kind admonition to submit to our fate with a "meek and quiet spirit." The government of a majority outside the Constitution, is the cardinal principle of the Whig party; and to gain power and wealth, which it does not grant, is the end of its organization. Any modification of this outrageous doctrine, is only to be found in the Southern wing of that party: and then only when it is applied to the question of Slavery. If any one of the Whig principles, more than another, elevated General Taylor to the Presidency, it was the announcement of his determination not to use the veto, (enjoined on him by the Constitution, and for its own protection and that of a minority,) against the expressed wishes of a majority of Congress. This enormous outrage, and mutilation of our great Charter of Freedom, and equal rights, is the most dangerous assault ever made on the liberties of any people. Returning from the battle-fields of his country, crowned with victory, and the laurels yet green on his brow, thousands of his grateful countrymen, dazzled with the brilliancy of his renown, and conceding to General Taylor the purity and wisdom, as well as the bravery of Washington, wheeled into line with the masses now drawn up and led on by their hero, to accomplish yet greater victories at home than on the plains of Mexico.

Whatever means may be resorted to in obtaining a majority, is immaterial with its advocates; collusion and fraud have been the order of the day, for a long series of years. Is it not manifest to the world that the votes of the sugar planter of Louisiana, in favor of a protective tariff on the manufactures of the North, are brought up in a reciprocal protection or high duty on the planter's sugar. Are not Western votes also, annually bought and sold on the floor of Congress, in consideration of Northern votes making enormous appropriations of the public money for internal improvements?

Thus the Southern States are annually plundered and made the victim by falsehood and cupidity, of as gross a fraud, in the magnitude of its results, as was ever committed on this or any other continent.

We might call the attention of our readers to many other base purposes for which the Whig principle is well adapted. Great cunning and dexterity is used, with the view of inducing the farmer to submit to a system of legislation so ruinous and degrading. We have, at one time, the most touching and impassioned appeals to the love and duty we owe to our own country and our own brethren. At another, we are told in great soberness, that it is best for us to have but one market, at which we may sell our produce and make our purchases. Still incredulous of the benefits of a commerce so contrary to reason and all experience, we are lastly denounced as recusant, and great disturbers of the peace and harmony of the Union. The most selfish and arrogant claims are thus set up and pressed with great zeal for the exclusive trade of the Southern States; claims which, if successful, would prevent us from buying from those who would sell cheaper than they, and from selling to those who would pay us a better price for the produce we have to sell. The profits of labor and whatever of enterprise might be attempted would all go, with such tyrannical restrictions on the freedom of commerce, directly or indirectly to make the wealthy Nabob of the North richer, and empoverish the hard-working laborer of the South.

The principles which lie at the bottom of the various measures and devices proposed by the Whig party, and are always acted on and carried out by them when in power; illustrations of which we have given above, are of a character most alarming for the stability of the Union. We are not able to command words sufficiently emphatic in admonishing the people to beware and guard against doctrines so insidious, and which will lead to their certain ruin. Failing of success in arraying the power of the North against the power of the South, and the interests of the North against the interests of the South; the dusty journals of a half century gone are taken down from their ancient resting place, and searched with great avidity for PRECEDENTS. Take, as an instance, the sophistry used in the fierce conflict about a National Bank. No one could contend that the power was clearly granted in the Constitution; but Congress had undoubtedly established one before; accordingly, politicians declared the precedent sufficient authority to establish one, at another time. Is not this as much as to say, if Congress had justified the Hartford Convention, or approved and rewarded the Treason of Arnold, that, to burn blue lights to an invading enemy, or Treason itself, is equal to the Constitution?

Whatever of extravagance may be attached to inferences like this, they are nevertheless legitimate. We all know that the Convention which framed the Constitution intended no grant of power not therein enumerated. Congress has no power over the Constitution; it cannot *make* it mean one thing or another; it only has to obey it.

This subject will be resumed again.—*The (Spartanburg, S. C.) Spartan.*

The Union.—Sentinels of Liberty, to your posts! Guardians of eternal Freedom, and lovers of the unity of this republic, be faithful to your trusts, and vigilant over the happiness of the American Nation!!

The foul and putrid spirit of disunion is lurking in the bosoms of American citizens who have ever been, and are at this moment, openly manifesting a desire for the destruction of this mighty republic, regardless of the welfare and prosperity of millions of freemen.

The fanatics of the North, and the ultraists of the South, boldly and fearlessly proclaim in our legislative halls, that with them the value of this union, is of but small moment; and valiantly assert, that ere they will come to terms, or consent to be governed by the dictates of prudence, reason, and justice, they will see this republic shattered into fragments.

Nor is this all: a band of Abolitionists in the North, with Garrison at their head, not content with the rights and blessing secured to them by the government under which they live, are continually howling over the rights and wrongs of others, and seem as it were, to have taken upon their own shoulders the management of the affairs of the nation, and the destinies of mankind.

Presumptuous madmen! You are calling down vengeance upon your own heads! Added to these we discover a contemptible squad of disunionists at the South headed by Calhoun and others, whose chant of "dissolution" is wafted upon every breeze throughout the length and breadth of this land, ever ready and willing to sever the ties of brotherly love and affection, which cement the States composing this nation.

Solemn declarations of the invasion of their rights are to be seen glistening upon the pages of every paper, accompanied with vaunts of their reckless determination to countenance and aid in disorganization.

Southern disunionists, remember, that the course you are pursuing, is but the precursor of your downfall. As certainly as the wheels of time roll on, and you, together with the madmen of the North, persist in your inglorious warfare upon the stability of this government, so sure, will you prove the means of your own destruction.

After ALL your pitiful and contemptible forces have been mustered into the field, there will still remain patriots enough, who venerate the name of Washington, and who cherish a steady and unfaltering attachment to the permanency of this union, to sweep you, one and all, from off the stage of existence, as renegades and traitors to the happiness and prosperity of your country.

American freemen, who love the land that gave them birth, and who properly appreciate the blessings secured to them by this government, will spurn with indignation all such foul attempts to undermine its foundation.

No demonstrations, other than empty words, have so far been made, by these bombastic gentry; but we predict, that when it becomes necessary to act in this matter, the American people will rise with one voice, and under a shout of stern defiance in the face of all who dare disturb the tranquility of this government, or molest the perpetuity of the American Union.—*Garrard (Ky.) Banner.*

The Union of the United States.—No arithmetic has power to calculate the value of the Union. Its sum is the whole amount of American renown and glory—an indivisible inheritance—which cannot be separated without utter ruin. The quarrels or differences of opinion in the various sections of our vast republic should only be regarded as bickerings of brethren of the same family, and the very heat of the discussion upon contested points aids in the elucidation of right and the promotion of justice. It is almost ludicrous to witness the feigned or addle-headed terror of the many political alarmists that seem to swarm in all free countries: such are the loudest speakers in the foreground of despondency. Total ruin, and irretrievable, ever seems to haunt such minds. To them the whole aspect of universal nature is portentous with storm. They almost seem to take leave of hope, and are as hopelessly insane as the Millerite delusion made its wretched fanatics, incapable of being taught reason by the marked and successive failures of every one of their melancholy bodings and predictions. The auguries all fail, yet the augurs augur still, like moral moon calves, terrified by their own terrors.

About six or seven years the epidemic of sad, sudden, dark and utterly hopeless prognostication seems to prevail throughout the land; and the groaners beat the muffled drums and play the "Dead March in Saul" over the decease of the Union—charging its violent death sometimes to the North, sometimes to the South, sometimes to Webster, then to Calhoun, to Wise, Hayne or Benton—while all this time the immense mass of the people, the brave and virtuous millions are utterly unaware of any impending signs of ruin, are as prosperous as their own loved and glorious government, and a beneficent over-ruling Providence can make them, and have no more idea of the dissolution of the Union than they have that "the heavens shall be rolled together like a scroll, and the elements melt with fervent heat" during the year eighteen hundred and fifty.

The admission of Missouri into the Union as a slave State furnished one of these seasons of periodical epidemic; and the tariff question of 1832 another; and now the Slavery prohibition in new Territories comes like a cloud over the horizon, behind which these owl-eyed prophets can discern nothing but everlasting gloom. Sound thinking, moral and religious people have often, under the fear of malediction, given countenance, "aid and comfort" to this ultraism, by which term we mean the extremes on both sides of the great question between the North and the South. The amount of ignorance it takes to make an out-and-out, instantaneous Abolitionist is incredibly great. He must be ignorant of his Bible, of the races of mankind, of the absolute necessity of Slavery in certain conditions, of the relation which exists between master and slave, of the comfort and discomforts of such a relationship, and finally he must be utterly ignorant of the rights of property and of the Constitution of the United States which only recognizes those rights which had existence long before the sages of 1789 gave them expression in the organic law of the Union.

There is much to be forgiven on both sides, and patience, now especially, should "have its perfect work." The extreme sensitiveness manifested by our legislators at this moment in Congress is not a symptom of wisdom. If the rights of the South are to be defended let it be done by cool heads, calm discussion and energetic argument. The South has this proud position in the matter: she is not the aggressor, but the repellant. She claims but those rights which were recognized as hers in the most wise and solemn instrument that was ever laid beneath the corner stone of empire, the compact of the Federal Convention, bearing the name of Washington. All the legislation in the world cannot deprive the slaveholding States of their rights, because those rights existed before and independent of legislation. An Anti-Slavery majority either in Congress or among the people of the United States can have no avail in the matter; and even the blotting of the slavery recognition from the Constitution could not effect the slave interest contrary to the will of the owners of the property.

The extreme ultraism of the Abolitionists has its origin in passion rather than in reason—in bigotry rather than in philanthropy. The influence of English authors, popular in this country, has had its effect in early education. Some of the morbidly sensitive and half insane poets of England, who have not had a tear to shed for the miseries and degradation of the white race in Ireland and India, have oceans of them to pour out for savage Africans whose Slavery is the most elevated and comfortable position they or their fathers have ever occupied in the world's history—not only the destination given them by their Creator, but one, comparatively, of exceeding mercy and benevolence,—all this excessive sentimentalism for Africans has had a deep effect on the American mind in portions of the country where the servile race have never lived in the condition the great mass of the colored population occupy in the United States. It is not the only topic on which English literature has hoodwinked the American intellect. Of course the Anti-Slavery literature of our own country servilely copies England with more than colonial dependence and veneration.

The position of the South, we again say, is noble and commanding, and can only be weakened and shaken by heat, passion, and that foaming at the mouth, which Shakspeare calls—

"———— words full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing!"

After the storms of winter ever comes the calm, sweet and verdant spring; and we predict that beyond the wordy warfare of the present session—the criminations and the recriminations—the torts and retorts—the pros and cons,—the bonds of Union will be stronger and brighter than ever. Rebuked ultraism will find its level. But the flag of the Union, with new stars born into its glorious constellation, shall still wave over the happiest and most enlightened land the sun ever shone upon.

We warmly adopt the sentiments of Longfellow, Professor in Harvard University, in the following fragment, published from his forthcoming new volume of Poems:

THE UNION.

Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempest roar,
In spite of false light on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee!
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee!

—*Natchez (Miss.) Courier.*

The South and the North.—That long time pretended friend and now implacable enemy of the South, the very Democratic New York *Evening Post*, has condescended to notice our editorial remarks upon the report of the Committee on the State of the Republic in the Legislature of Georgia.

The *Post* makes light of matters which, we must say, we regard with much seriousness. We are attached to the Union, and have looked forward hopefully to a collossal Republic washed by two oceans, bounded by the ices of the Pole on the North, and by a band of Tropical vegetation on the South. This may have been an idle dream, but it is one that we have ever cherished, and which we are reluctant to give up. But if we cannot get on quietly under the compromises of the Constitution as our fathers did, it may be better that they should separate at once. If this glorious Republic cannot last, in its own integrity, fifty or one hundred years more, (a short space in the life of a Nation) without these heart-burnings and jealousies, these bickerings, and unjust aggressions, it is perhaps as well that it should be dissolved now, as a few years later.

Look at the relations of the North and the South. Now, a large class of men are elected to Congress from the North, not to transact the business that devolves upon them under their constitutional oaths, but pledged to make every thing subservient to the Slavery question. These men go to Washington to clap on Wilmot Provisos, or to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, or to do something else aggressive and insulting to the South, while their coadjutors and electors at home are organizing societies for aiding slaves to desert their masters, or passing unconstitutional laws in Legislatures not only refusing to give up fugitive slaves, but making it penal for officers of State Governments to aid in their arrest or detention. This is the crusade [illegible] nities in the North are engaged. They attack our outworks one after another, and hurrah over the real or imaginary success of every new assault upon them. The Northern clergy too, take a conspicuous part in the crusade. Those who do not lead public opinion, generally follow it; and their pulpits echo with anathemas against Southern slaveholders, as though they were a set of unchristian, outside barbarians, unworthy to form a constituent part of the Republic. They never refer to those passages of scripture recognizing Slavery; and in presence of this new and inspiring theme, old texts seem to be worn threadbare and to have lost their charm. So true is this, that some clergymen at the North have had the audacity to lay down the principle that no member of a church can be a worthy communicant who is not, heart and soul, committed to the cardinal doctrines of Abolitionism.

This is not an overdrawn picture. It is the naked, simple truth, and there is not that man living who can deny it. Let not the people of the South then, in standing up for their own rights, be jeered as factious, or as disunionists. It is time that these aggressions should cease, and that the rights of the South should be regarded, if it is expected that she should continue in the Union. It is our firm conviction that the time has now arrived for resisting the first step inimical to our rights and interest. It is better to do it now than later, and in this opinion the whole South is united. And it is well that the North should know that we *are* united, and that these attacks of Loco-foco orators and presses upon a portion of their Southern fellow-citizens, which have so often given encouragement to Northern Abolitionists, are nothing less than slanders propagated to gain a passing advantage in elections. We say to those Northern presses and politicians—if you really value the Union, take care to keep your hands from intermeddling in our local affairs for which you are not responsible and which only interest us. If your attachment to the Union is sincere and not pretended, it is necessary that you should know that these unjust and unpardonable aggressions do materially threaten its integrity, and that its permanent safety can only be secured by halting on the threshold of this mad career, and then when reflection comes, by retracing these offensive steps which have given such serious grounds of complaints to the South.—*Savannah (Ga.) Republican.*

Union of the South.—The following is an extract from a letter which we recently received from one of our Representatives in Congress:

Washington, 27th Dec. 1849.

"John Craign, Esq.—*Dear Sir:* We are all surprised here at the tone of the press in Alabama at the present time.

"Every political move of the statesmen and parties North, is evidently intended to degrade the Southern States, on account of their institutions, and with the view (not disguised) of their ultimate destruction.

"No fact can be plainer, and yet like the Jews when besieged by the Romans, the press of the South are keeping up a strife among the factions "called chivalry and Hunker Whigs," and "chivalry and Hunker Democrats," at the very time we are assailed and ought to act, think, and feel, as one man. Cannot editors find in the stirring events of the times more important matters for public consideration than the revival of slang some fifteen or twenty years old? Do you not know (all of you, Whigs and Democrats,) that it is by and through our divisions that the enemies of our institutions expect to succeed; and that if they saw us united, they would recoil at once, from their outrageous aggressions?

"If you know or believe these things, why in the name of all that is dear to us do you not unite in your attack upon the common foe? Encourage the wavering, denounce the treacherous, and cheer on all, who stand by us, give them the right hand of fellowship, whether they be Whigs or Democrats, "chivalry or Hunkers."

"We have no man to spare who is true to the South, and whoever lives among us, be he who he may, that tries to stir up strife among Southern people and thereby weaken our cause, should be held as the country's worst enemy. He does us more harm than five Northern Abolitionists of equal capacity and remote from us.

"If these strifes and contentions in the South are not put down by the people or abandoned by those who stir them up, no one can tell the state of degradation, misery and woe reserved for our people."

We do not pretend distinctly to understand who is aimed at, or who is hit by the above reproof; "our withers," at least, "are unwrung." We have endeavored until the subject to us has become stale and tiresome, to show the vital importance to the South of the most perfect union and harmony on the subject of Slavery. Hence our recurring so often to the meeting of the Southern representatives last winter in Washington. Then emphatically of all other periods was the time for Southern union; then was the juncture in which every representative should have looked upon all private and party considerations as "trifles light as air," compared with the one great subject of Southern rights and Southern honor. The mere form or character of the Address was nothing; whether, indeed, they should publish an Address at all or not was nothing—absolutely nothing; but that they should all be UNITED ON SOMETHING—on *some* plan of self defence, was EVERY THING. We do not hesitate to say, that had all the Southern Democrats and Whigs come together on that occasion and acted as one man, there would scarcely have been a dissenting voice from the Potomac to the Rio Grande on any course of action that they might have deemed necessary to pursue. Then, the "tide of our affairs" was at its "flood," and had it been judiciously "taken" by our representatives, the "fortunes" of the South would have been secured forever, free from all further molestation. But that golden opportunity was not properly improved, it was worse than thrown away; nay, it was so abused as to be in effect little else than an open betrayal of the great interests of the South, and almost as fatal as the throwing down of our defensive walls for the admission of a Trojan horse. From that time, we began to look upon the possibility of the South ever acting up to the requirements of one great, all-absorbing and unanimous sentiment, as an idle dream—a mere Utopian fancy. And after we saw the course of Messrs. Hilliard, Stephens & Co., warmly approved by their constituents, themselves returned to Congress by increased majorities and their miserable petty, trivial and absurd excuses pronounced satisfactory, our doubts about Southern union, were strongly though most grievously confirmed. But still, notwithstanding all this, as soon as we saw the stand taken by Stephens, Toombs and Hilliard in the present Congress, although we might have our private opinions as to their *motives*, yet for the sake of aiding to unite the South, we were willing to overlook all past transgressions and ready to hail them as patriots faithfully devoted to the cause of their country. And we still think it the duty of every Southern man to exert all his influence in effecting a perfect union of the slaveholding States on the question of Slavery; and, indeed, we are proud to say that there is a very fair prospect now, that the South will be united. The public press, however conflicting on party topics, seems now, on the Southern question, to speak with but one voice; our Legislatures on that subject recognize but *one* party, and the people, we *know*, when their true situation is understood, will be animated with but one impulse, one sentiment, and that will be to maintain their rights at any sacrifice.

We must confess that the remarks in the above extract took us somewhat by surprise, and we are disposed to believe that our correspondent is somewhat inclined to exaggerate matters. We hear little or nothing said now of "Chivalry" or "Hunkerism," and we expect to hear still less; and the press, we repeat, on the Southern question, seems to be nearly unanimous. If the Legislatures and leading spirits of the South will now only act *judiciously* and with coolness, we believe there will be little more to fear from Northern fanaticism, so well satisfied are we that just so soon as the Free Soil agitators perceive that the *united* South has at last come to the determination to yield not one hair's breadth of her ground to any threatened invasion, however ruthless and formidable, they will, in the words of our friend. "will receive the benefit of a lesson that they can never forget.—*Alabama Atlas.*

Slavery.—This subject now occupies the attention of the whole American people. During the present session of Congress the ball has been started afresh, which is creating an exciting solicitude, in the minds of the reflecting portion of our citizens hitherto unknown. This solicitude is felt for the welfare and safety of the Union. A few misguided Abolitionists, in the North, by their zeal in the cause of mistaken philanthropy, have for years been irritating the South till forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. A stand will soon be taken by the South, from which it will not recede. A flame is fast kindling, which, if not soon suppressed, will endanger our peace, and envelope our country in a scene of widespread desolation. Our politicians, in both sections of the country are busily engaged in calculating the value of our Union, and are, by all means in their power, endeavoring to poison the minds of the people, with doctrines the most dangerous and inflammatory. The beginning is hardly yet; where the end may be is beyond the power of mortal vision to discern. The North is rushing madly toward a giddy brink, and a yawning gulf. The South is almost unanimous in its expressions of "non-intercourse," "resistance," and a dissolution of the Union. This state of things cannot, ought not, long so to continue.

Let each section of our country bear in mind, that however much may have cost our liberties—however wise and patriotic the sages of the Revolution, and however broad and comprehensive may be the palladium of our liberties, and however high we may stand in the scale of nations, we can only be safe by a preservation of the union of the States: while the the political aspirant would cry "havoc and let slip the dogs of war," let the virtuous and patriotic every where, say to the agitated elements, "hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther." The very first link that is broken, in the blood-cemented chain, will endanger our liberties and eventually prove their final overthrow. From present indications, a crisis is rapidly approaching, when the active exertion of every friend of liberty will be called into requisition. If anarchy and confusion are to prevail, and disunion be the result, then may the friends of freedom cease to hope, and tyrants exult over the fallen fortunes of the republic. But though the political horizon is at times obscured by dark clouds of evil omen, well calculated to awaken the patriot's fears, still we will believe that they will pass away, as mist before the face of Him whose glory they would eclipse. We will not despair of the Union. We have an abiding confidence in the great body of the people to the Constitution and the Union. They were born together, and together they must survive or perish. And we believe, that should the time arrive, to put this attachment to the test, the patriotic citizens of our common country would at once rally around a common standard bearing the glorious inscription, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."—*Martinsburg (Va.) Gazette.*

The Southern Question.—The propositions, submitted to the House of Delegates on Saturday, by the special committee on that part of the Governor's Message which related to the Wilmot Proviso and kindred subjects, demand the most serious consideration not only of the General Assembly, but of the people for whom the Assembly is about to act. As the most efficient instrument of eliciting public opinion, it seems to us to behoove the press especially to speak out with frankness upon these matters, that vitally concern the welfare of our whole country.

The committee recommend, first, a reaffirmation of the resolutions twice heretofore adopted, and, secondly, the appointment of nineteen delegates to a Southern Convention to be held at Nashville, Tennessee, in June next.

With regard to the first of these recommendations, it may be well to remind our readers that when the resolutions, proposed to be reaffirmed, were introduced in the House of Delegates, at the session of 1848-9, by a committee of which the present Governor was Chairman, we thought it our duty to oppose their adoption, and based our objections chiefly on the view that it was inexpedient for the South to *anticipate* violations of its rights, and to *threaten* what course it would adopt, in case of their perpetration. We expressed, especially, the apprehension that, inasmuch as the resolutions pledged the State to "resistance," in the event of the passage of the Wilmot Proviso or other justly obnoxious measures by Congress, and yet provided that, in that event, another Legislature should meet to determine "the mode and measure of redress," the declaration of resistance would fail to command credence in the North, and would be regarded as a mere threat, not intended to be carried into execution, rather than as a solemn admonition designed to preserve the harmony of the Union. Our views of Southern policy did not accord with those of a majority in the Legislature, and the resolutions were adopted. The example thus set by Virginia has since been followed by the Legislatures of most of the Southern States, and the question is whether Virginia shall repeat her former declaration?

In determining this question, it seems to us impossible that there can be serious hesitation. Those who opposed the resolutions in the first instance, will, of course, be prepared to reiterate them now; and those who opposed them at first, because they disliked the apprehended appearance of making a threat, whilst they fully assented to the principles asserted, must perceive the importance of imparting solemnity to our declarations by supporting them with unanimity. On the main point, that Virginia is, in reality, prepared to stand by her sister States of the South in resisting offensive legislation on the subject of Slavery, even at the hazard of sacrificing the Union itself, glorious as it is in its reminiscences and inestimable in its benefits, we are persuaded there can be no difference of opinion. The Wilmot Proviso, abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and interference by the Federal Government with the free transfer of slave property between the Southern States, are all regarded by the people of Virginia, and the whole South, as but parts of the shaft whose poisoned head fanaticism would bury in our vitals. There are too many evidences before us to be discredited, that the institution of Slavery, as it exists in the *States* is the ultimate object of assault. We know, full well, that the Wilmot Proviso would only prohibit Slavery in Territories, which Slavery can never be expected to enter, and that the continuance of Slavery in the remaining half of the "Ten Miles Square" is, in itself, of small practical consequence in comparison with the value of the Union. But the South feels that the apprehended measures are sheer violations of the constitutional compact, and that if they be acquiesced in, she will enjoy no security for the future. If there has been difference of opinion as to the expediency of declaring the purpose of resistance in advance, we believe there is none whatever as to the purpose itself. On this subject, however much politicians may have perverted it to unworthy purposes, there has been no distinction of parties amongst the people. Let the assurance, then, be given to Northern Senators and Representatives in Congress, not in tones of menace or recrimination, but in the firm language of admonition, that Virginia, with the other Southern States, will regard the passage of the measures in question as tantamount to a dissolution of the Confederacy.

We concur in the propriety of the Legislature's now repeating this warning, not because we really apprehend that the occasion will shortly arise for its application, but because we indulge the hope that it may tend to postpone that occasion forever, by persuading the Northern majority in Congress to desist from efforts to enact obnoxious laws. And should the stand, unitedly taken by the Southern States, fail to impress that majority with the sincerity of Southern resolution, it would powerfully strengthen the hands of the President in applying his negative (as we doubt not he will) to measures which, if sanctioned by his approval, would unquestionably be fatal to the Union.

We defer any comment upon the scheme of a southern Convention to another occasion.—*Richmond (Va.) Times.*

The Southern Question.—Most of us in the conviction be not irresistable, that the causes of difference between the two sections will be pushed to the catastrophe of a dissolution of the Union. Hope lingers in the breasts of a few, that a returning sense of justice will impel rational men of the North to stay the hand of fanaticism and give us peace. We doubt not that at least four-fifths of the Senate and three-fourths of the House, at Washington, would gladly let the cup of bitterness pass from them, if left to the promptings of their own consciences. But the mass of northern representatives have given pledges, expressed or implied, to sustain the Proviso. They owe their election to these pledges, and they can only retain their seats by redeeming them. They may resort to the thousand and one legislative devices and collateral questions, to stave off the real one, and then go home and throw dust in the eyes of their constituents. And that is our only hope; for we have no expectation that men of itching palms, who would give hasty and unconsidered pledges upon a great question they had not duly weighed, in order to win a seat in Congress, would have honesty and patriotism enough, on being convinced of their error, to vote in the teeth of their pledges.

The united action of the South, expressed as with the tongue of a single man, would, as has been said a thousand times before, secure us all we ask—and why should it not, since all we ask is to be let alone. Whether the conservative spirit of the North, acting as an auxiliary to the resistance in course of preparation in the South, is sufficient to drive fanaticism back to its den—is the question. We read with great satisfaction a few days since, an elaborate article in the *Journal of Commerce* upon the subject, taking strong southern ground, and though the *Journal* has always been sound upon the question, the article alluded to, was written in a tone and temper calculated to arouse whatever there is of patriotism and honesty at the North, to action.

Since then, the proceedings of the Georgia Legislature—the report of the committee, the resolutions, the law, passed by a unanimous vote, providing for the call of a convention in certain contingencies, have gone to the North. Nothing has served so effectually as this, to tear the film from the eyes of honest people which the abolition papers have labored to spread over them. The reality now begins to stare them in the face, and abolition guises, falsehood and treachery will no longer serve to conceal it, that the South are in earnest—that it is not mere gasconade, truculence, sound and fury, signifying nothing. The proceedings of Georgia are published by the *New York Herald in extenso*, accompanied by a long arcicle, characterized by the same vigor and, we may add, solemnity, which marked that of the *Journal of Commerce*. Whatever may be said personally of Mr. Bennet, his paper is conducted with ability, enjoys an immense circulation and exerts great influence.

The *Herald* takes up the Slavery question from the formation of the Constitution; quotes the counsels of Washington; descends to the Missouri compromise, and of the compact of union. He asks—

> "Now, when was this great compact first attempted to be invaded? Who were the fanatics who first tried to invalidate its terms, or explain away its provisions? The men who, at the time Missouri was asking to be admitted to the Union, claimed that, if she came in at all, she should not come in on the conditions by which other States had been admitted. Some amendment was claimed to be necessary in the contract. All the South asked was, that Missouri and any other State who entered our Union, should enter on the same condition as the original thirteen States. This was a sound principle—it was rational, right, and just; and it is the only principle on which the Union can be kept together."

Of the Georgia proceedings, the Herald says:

> "But the South also moves. A very important report and resolutions have been agreed to by the Legislature of Georgia, and a law has passed one branch of the Legislature, authorizing the election of delegates to a revolutionary convention, to decide upon the mode and measures of redress, should the Wilmot proviso pass Congress and receive the signature of the President. Every other Southern State will probably follow this example; and there is, besides, a proposal for a general convention of the Southern States, to meet at Nashville next June, should the new territories be organized with the proviso attached to them. We are, therefore, on the edge of a greater and more important crisis in our history than we have yet passed through. What is to be done? Where is the remedy? How avoid the awful gulf of disunion, and a general breaking up of this vast republic?"

The article concludes with an expression of opinion that the threatened danger will be averted by a compromise, conceived and carried out by the concerted action of the great men in Congress. Whether that hope will be realized, we are firmly persuaded, must depend on ourselves. So long as the North are suffered to gather public opinion among us, only from the press and public assemblages, they arrogate the right to denounce such demonstrations as mere bluster. But when the popular will comes down upon them in the form of solemn enactments and legislative resolves, adopted with startling unanimity, the abolition assurance of "all's well" no longer serves its purpose. Why, the *N. Y. Tribune* itself is checked in its carreer by the action of Georgia. It is constrained to publish the resolutions of the Legislature as matter of news, but the proceedings as a whole, which have awakened so much interest throughout the length and breadth of the land, are dismissed with a careless paragraph. Mr. Greeley was too sensible a man to hazard a flout at the embodied will of a sovereign State, as he has been in the habit of doing, when noticing public meetings of the South.

The attitude of this great question now, admonishes us of the duty of repeating the recommendation we ventured upon a short time since, to hold public meetings throughout the State—not in the vain hope of making any impression upon the North—but upon our own legislature, so that the embodied will of the people of Alabama may go forth in that imposing form which we have seen will command respect and consideration. It is due to the Legislature that such meetings should be held, but much more is it due to ourselves.—*Mobile Daily Register.*

Southern Executives.—Some newspapers have expressed the opinion that the Governors of the Southern States attach too much importance to the meddling of the North and its Abolitionists, with the concerns of the South. If the Editors of those papers are as friendly to the Union, as they would have people believe, they would years ago have taken a stand against those fanatical cut-throats, which, it is possible, would have prevented the necessity of any notice being taken of them by those Executives. The gentlemen of the press are all familiar with the proceedings of the Convention of the Liberty Party at Syracuse in July last, and equally so with those of the Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies in New York, at their several anniversary celebrations for the last three years, yet not one of them devoted two inches square of his paper to the condemnation of them. If faithful to the Union themselves, the "insignificance" of the Abolition party, is a poor excuse to give for their silence. That party has repeatedly proclaimed its hostility to the *Christian Church*, and as often declared its wish for a *separation of the States*. When it did this, it became the duty of the conductors of presses disposed to cherish the Union, to have forthwith unsparingly applied their censure to it. Those who did not then discharge that duty, should have more modesty than, at the present, to find fault with the Executives of the South, for simply *echoing* the sentiments of the *people* over whom they preside. The power of the Southern press has never been fully exerted to extinguish the treasonable doctrines of the North. It has been truly said, that "revolutions are born in the brain of some garreted philosopher, or in the breast of the common people, and that the so called *leaders*, are the offspring of these revolutions." The revolution which gave liberty to the glorious old thirteen States, was begun by obscure individuals. More than one year before the Declaration of Independence by Congress, a body of that class of men, in a remote part of *North Carolina*, declared her *Independence* of the mother Country. The revolutions which have so often convulsed France, originated with the "com- Therefore, every editor, who in truth loves the Union, ought, when the Abolition party first expressed a wish for its *dismemberment*, to have come out against that party, no matter how "insignificant" he may have deemed it. If it were unimportant in its incipiency, it cannot now be so considered. On the contrary, it has become strong and dangerous, as the number of presses it employs to disseminate the seeds of *disunion* at the North, and the number of secret emissaries it keeps in pay to *steal* the property of the Southerner, plainly manifest. Still those editors preserve silence toward it. Is this because many of them are from the North, and still retain their Northern prejudices? At the Syracuse meeting the subjoined resolution was adopted:—

"*Resolved*, That instead of sending Bibles among tha slaves, we had infinitely better adopt the suggestions of the memorable Liberty Party Address to the slaves, and supply them with PISTOLS—to the end that by such helps, they may reach a land, where they can both own a Bible and learn to read it."

The Southerner holds the Union dear and venerates the government under which he lives; but to have his property wrested from him, and his *life taken*, if he attempt to recover it, is more than he can endure. Self preservation will predominate over every other feeling, and he will seek it in manly resistance to his oppressors. He must resort to this extreme; abandon his rights, or ingloriously fly from his native land. This is the distressful strait to which the North and the Abolitionists are rapidly hurrying him.

The Southern Governors have spoken like men conscious and tenacious of the rights of the injured South, and the people of their respective States will nobly sustain them. They cannot do otherwise without proving recreant to themselves. To use the language of another, "except life itself, there is nothing which men *defend* with so much jealous and desperate energy as their *property*; and when a whole community finds its estate menaced with destruction," it will struggle until victorious, or until its assailants are involved in common ruin with itself. That God in His Providence, may save the Union, and spare the effusion of blood which would follow its dissolution, is our ardent and cordial prayer. But come what may, MARYLAND will be found in line with her *Southern Sisters*.—*Annapolis (Md.) Republican.*

Selections.

COLONEL BENTON.

It is quite manifest that this distinguished champion of democracy is to be the object of a combined and malignant opposition in the slaveholding States. The feeling of hostility which has been aroused by his fearless vindication of the power of Congress over the question of Slavery in the territories, led to the recent attempt of Mr. Calhoun, and his coadjutors, to exclude him from the committees of the Senate—one of the most extraordinary attempts, we do not hesitate to say, to commit a public outrage, that has been known from the foundation of the government. The oldest member of the Senate, one of the very ablest men of his time, industrious and hard working beyond almost any other man, eminent in that body for his devotion to business and his familiarity with its rules and forms of proceeding, excluded by a democratic caucus from the head of any committee, and nearly dabarred the privilege of serving in the subordinate capacity of a member! A grosser insult could not be offered to the State of Missouri, of which he is the representative; to the Senate, which is the guardian of the rights of its members; to the country, which Col. Benton has so long and ably served, and to the democratic party, which he has sustained throughout all vicissitudes. We greatly mistake if this malignant hostility on the part of desperate men does not recoil on them and endear to the people more strongly a statesman, who has been thirty years before the country "without fear and without reproach," and whose only offence is the assertion of a constitutional principle, which is deemed hostile to the extension of Slavery to free territory.

Public attention has been strongly attracted to Col. Benton's position in Missouri during the last summer. The attempt in the Senate to expel him from all participation in the service of committees is wholly due to the liberality of his opinions on the

Slavery question, and to his manly defence of the free States from the calumnies cast upon them by Mr. Calhoun and his followers. For the purpose of producing excitement in the South, they charge the Northern States with acts, of which we are entirely innocent; and it is the exposure of these misrepresentations that is the moving cause of the warfare his opponents are waging against him.

On the 1st of September last, the Colonel made one of his ablest speeches, at Fayette, Howard county, Missouri. From this speech we proceed to make copious extracts in illustration of what we have said. We begin with his defence of the non-slaveholding States, and we quote this part of his speech with the more pleasure because it is the first instance within our knowledge, in which a citizen of a slaveholding State has had the manliness to stand up in the face of his constituents and do us justice.

> "A fundamental falsehood, for the most wicked of purposes, pervades this State, and all the slaveholding States, importing that Congress means to abolish Slavery in the slave States, and that the proviso, called Wilmot's is the first step in that scheme of abolition. This is untrue, and unfounded; and can be proved to be so in every way in which a negative proposition can be proved. It can be proved by the words, and by the conduct of Congress—by the words, and by the conduct of that part of Congress against which the accusation is directed, the non-slaveholding part—the members, whig and democrat, from the free States. They disclaim, one and all, both the right and the desire to do any such thing. They disavow all shadow of right, and deny every particle of desire to interfere with Slavery, in the remotest possible degree, in any State of the Union. They are against its extension into territories; but with Slavery in the States they have nothing to do; and so declare it on all suitable occasions. I could read abundant declarations to that effect, but limit myself to the assertion of the fact, known to be true by all reading men, and proceed to proof of a more impressive form—that of the acts and conduct of these States—the authentic and effective acts of the non-slaveholding members standing in their places in the Congress of the United States. I proceed to these acts."

Col. Benton then refers to the Platte country, once free under the Compromise Act of 1820, and subsequently annexed to Missouri, and opened, under her laws, to the introduction of slaves; to Texas lost by Mr. Calhoun's vote in 1829, and regained by northern votes in 1845; to Florida, a slave territory, acquired by treaty, requiring two thirds of the votes of the Senate, and receiving them—"60,000 square miles of slave territory," as he says, "added, and by help, and much help, of northern votes;" and to the Indian territory in nine slaveholding States, secured to those States by a removal of the Indian population. These cases are cited by Col. Benton to show that neither Congress nor the Northern States are obnoxious to the perpetual charges of aggression, which are brought against them by Mr. Calhoun and his coadjutors.

> "No, my friends," he continues, "always meaning those who come to hear the truth and believe it, the northern States and Congress have no desire to do anything to you but for your own good, and according to your own wishes. They have helped you to much beneficial legislation—much on other subjects besides that of adding to your slave territory and removing the Indians that incumbered you. They are the majority, and no legislation, good or bad, can come to you from Congress without their help. Their words and conduct show you that they wish to give you beneficial legislation; and the statute book contains many instances of it. Salt—gold—pre-emptions—donations of land—grants to the State for schools, colleges and internal improvements: whence come they all? From the help of northern votes, and generally against the opposition of the nullification school. The South, in former and happier times, was the peculiar guardian of the west. The great men of the South, in the great day of the South, covered and sheltered the young west with their beneficent legislation, as the mother hen shelters the young brood with her protecting wing. Nullification has changed that relation; and whatever the west gets now, and has got for years past, is, unhappily, with too little aid from the South. The graduation bill has met its inexorable antagonist in Mr. Calhoun; a man who never limits himself to a fair opposition in the House, but works, without scruple, upon members out of doors, and in the night. The great pre-emption policy, now established as a system in our land, and for which I have been an advocate since a member of the general assembly of Tennessee in the year 1809—forty years ago—this policy has been established by the help of northern votes. The men of the north are working men, and they feel for working men in other places. Upon such a man as Silas Wright, the appeal in favor of the settler in the woods—in favor of the man who waters the soil with his sweat, and makes an improvement in the wilderness—against him who would buy his house and field over his head, and take his labor for nothing: the argument in favor of such settler fell with irresistible weight upon the man who, after adorning the Senate chamber with his wisdom and eloquence, would be seen on his little farm of forty acres, the harvest ripe, in the hot field, a straw hat on his head, brown linen shirt and trowsers, stout shoes to keep out briars and stubble, cradle or scythe in hand, and carrying an even row with the best competitor. Such a man—and such men—feel for laboring men everywhere! and to such you are indebted for the aid which established the pre-emption system."

Col. Benton then refers to the origin of the accusation against Congress and the Northern States in [illegible] In 1835 the Legislatures of Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts, were called on by an article in the *Charleston Mercury*, headed "Crisis," to pass laws for the suppression of Abolition Societies, and in default there of a convention of the Southern States was to be called to obtain the redress of their grievances, "be the consequences what they may." This is termed, by Col. Benton, nullification, No. 2, in contra-distinction to nullification No. 1, which was put down by General Jackson, and of which Mr. Calhoun was the leader.

The Southern Address of 1849, written by Mr. Calhoun, is pronounced by the Colonel an empty amplification of the article in the *Charleston Mercury*, headed "Crisis." He continues:

> "The article from the *Mercury*, entitled "Crisis," contained the programme for the new nullification, and not an incident has been added to the plot from that day to this. It came forth from the author's brain, full grown and perfect, as it now stands; with every cause, and every consequence, and the whole mode of action, precisely laid down, as now developed. It is the '*Southern Address!*' Fourteen years has added nothing to it; and a more bare-faced attempt to pick a quarrel, for a wicked purpose, was never seen upon earth. It is the key to a knowledge of all that is now going on in the State of Missouri, and in all the slaveholding half of the Union. It is the programme to the present slave agitation, and the present scheme for a Southern Convention, and a Southern Confederacy; and it is persuasive evidence of the falsehood of the pretext used now, by showing the absurdity of the pretext used then, and by showing that this second plot for the dissolution of the Union, and upon the Slavery pretext, dates fourteen years back, and was all planned matured, and resolved on, before the '*grievances*' existed which are paraded in the 'Southern Address' as more oppressive and intolerable than those which occasioned the separation of the colonies from Great Britain."

The Colonel next takes up and examines *seriatim* the resolutions passed by the Legislature of Missouri, shortly before the close of the last session, and got up for the purpose of embarrassing him, by the friends of Mr. Calhoun. From these resolutions, which, as he says, were fraudulently withheld from Congress, at its last session, he has appealed to the people of the State, and it is on this issue that the discussion in Missouri, the last season, between him and his opponents turned. These resolutions he denounces in the following terms:

> "They are nullification and disunion, by coincidence, and even progress and identity, with the nightly deliberations, and resulting labors of the conclave of Southern members last winter, whose councils terminated in what is now openly celebrated as the 'Second Declaration of Independence.' That work was going on all winter at Washington, and came to a head towards the close of the session. The resolutions of the General Assembly of Missouri had their commencement on the 8th day of January; were held in reserve until the conclave had acted at Washington; and then passed, as if sanctioned and protected by the 'Southern Address.' The conclave at Washington, and the conspirator part of the General Assembly moved in concert, and the harmony and unity of their operations make the work of each an illustration of the other. This makes a review of the conclave proceedings material and pertinent; and I will here review them. But being now to enter upon the examination of words used, and reports written by Mr. Calhoun, it becomes necessary to learn his language—that is to say, to learn the sense in which he uses terms—that we may know what he means when he uses terms known to us for a different signification from what he intends. Nullification, among other peculiarities, possesses a language of its own, consisting of old words used in a new sense: and, without a vocabulary, or glossary, to explain these changes, we should be led astray in the application of the terms. Fortunately, the head of the sect—the founder of the school—has furnished us with that glossary; and I will here produce it, so far as is necessary, to explain the new meaning of certain cardinal words which I shall have occasion to read; and which words in fact, constitute the staple of all the nullification harrangues which have been delivered for fourteen years—(the 'eulogium' on General Jackson inclusive)—and which are the woof and the warp—the chain and the filling—of the 'Southern Address,' the Missouri resolutions, the letter in reply to Benton's Jefferson City speech; and all other kindred productions of the nullification school. They are the words 'aggression'—'encroachment'—'abolitionist;' and the new sense in which they are used, is explained in an authentic emanation from Mr. Calhoun's own mind—and a cherished production of it:—that 'Southern Address,' which is to eclipse Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. A suppressed paragraph of that paragon of State papers, fortunately brought to light by Senator Rusk, contains this invaluable information; and here it is:
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> "'At the last session they passed a bill to establish a territorial government for Oregon, containing a provision to exclude Slavery, unaccompanied by compromise, or by making any concession or equivalent whatever to the South. It was so passed, professedly to assert the unlimited control of Congress over the subject. It was the first bill of the kind ever passed, and marks an important stage in the progress of aggressions and encroachments in reference to Slavery in the territorial aspect of the subject. It has given a new and powerful impulse to the Abolitionists. Instead of resting satisfied with so great a step in their progress, they are now urging, with greater zeal than ever, towards the accomplishment of the object they have in view.'"
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> "Now for the sense in which these cardinal terms are used in this passage.
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> "'Aggression'—This has always been considered applicable to lawless acts; here it applies to an act of Congress, duly passed by a majority of each house, and approved by a Southern President and his Cabinet. The Oregon bill, excluding Slavery from that territory, and that in conformity to the will of the people, is styled an aggression; and constitutes one of those grievances, more intolerable than the oppression of Great Britain upon the colonies, for which disunion is the remedy; and the only remedy in nullification eyes.
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> "'Encroachment.'—This word heretofore has signified a lawless invasion of the rights of another. Now it applies, in the vocabulary of Mr. Calhoun, to an act of Congress—the same Oregon bill—duly and constitutionally made, and approved by a Southern President. An act of Congress is called an encroachment; and this encroachment is upon Southern rights; and these Southern rights are to be found between the parallels of 42 and 49 degrees of north latitude; and upon the shores of the straits of Fuca, and the Lake of the Woods. Sure, this nullification is a queer doctrine. It takes the same liberty with the language of the country that it does with its laws and Constitution.
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> "'Abolitionist.'—This term, before its new signification, applied to those who denied the right of property in slaves, and who held all slaves entitled to immediate freedom, by force and violence, or by flight. They differed from emancipators, who acknowledge the property in the owner, and proposed liberation on that basis—on the basis of compensation. The nullification doctrine reverses all this. All are now Abolitionists who are not nullifiers. 'They' who passed the Oregon bill were Abolitionists. It was a step in *their* progress—a great step towards the accomplishment of *their* object, to wit, the abolition of Slavery in the States. So says Mr. Calhoun. This was going too far. It impeached not only a majority of each house of Congress, but President Polk himself, and his cabinet, of abolitionism. No doubt Mr. Calhoun deemed Mr. Polk an Abolitionist, and a most cruel one, from the time that he abolished a certain Secretary of State! but not so anybody else; and the whole paragraph in the 'Address,' containing these abuseful applications of known terms, was struck out by vote of the conclave. They were struck out of the paper, but not out of the head of Mr. Calhoun; and in his letter, in reply to the Jefferson City speech, the three cardinal terms—aggression, encroachment, abolition—are employed precisely as applied in the suppressed paragraph of the Southern Address. Such is the abuse of language to deceive the people; but now, having learnt his lingo, there is no excuse for being decived. Abolitionist is his name for all that are not nullifiers. He is good at a name. Tory was his name for the democracy when he joined the Whigs against Jackson; and his appellation was just as true, and decent, then, as now.
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> "With this warning and foreknowledge of the new sense in which the nullification school uses old words, we will proceed to the acts and doings of the conclave of Southern members—twin proceeding, and part and parcel of the contemporaneous operations in Missouri."

The Colonel next enters into a critical review of the "Southern Address" adopted last winter by a portion of the members of Congress from the slaveholding States, and compares it with the Missouri resolutions—"twin brothers of the same father," as he denominates them. Similar resolutions were passed by Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia, all taking substantially the same ground—that in case any act should be passed by Congress prohibiting Slavery in the territories, or abolishing Slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia, the legislatures of the Southern States should be convoked to consider "the mode and measure of redress."

We quote again:

> "And, with a view to action, South Carolina has established the committees known to the revolution during our struggle with Great Britain, namely a general executive committee of safety and vigilance, to direct operations; a general state committee, of safety and vigilance to provide the ways and means; and district and parish committees of safety and vigilance, to spread information and concert of action; as if civil war had already began.
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> "It is to the purpose intended by these resolves, explicit on their face, and interpreted as they are by so many signs and declarations, to mean a forcible resistance to an act of Congress, if passed, which act by all authorities, is declared to be constitutional, that Missouri is committed by her Legislature! She is to co-operate with them, and is to have no choice in the mode of co-operation. That is doubly proved—by the words of the resolve itself, and by the rejection of a proposed amendment reserving to Missouri the privilege of co-operating in the mode she should think proper. That disunion is the object of the resistance is proved, not only by the history of the whole movement in other States, but by its terms, and the circumstances which attended the introduction, and the passage of the resolutions in this State. They import disunion on their face; they flow from that anniversary address, "eulogium on Jackson," which inculcated disunion as a remedy, and pointed to "an independent organization," as the alternative of the South; and the amendment was rejected upon a responsible vote of yeas and nays which was offered to negative that treasonable design. Risk, of St. Louis, offered a warm amendment in favor of the Union. It was voted down. And thus the conspirator part of the members remain without a pretext to excuse, or a shield to cover them. Disunion was the design; and denial of it now is as false and cowardly as the fact itself was true and audacious at the time.
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> "Disunion, since the Missouri resolutions, and the Southern address, is the open language of the leading South Carolina press. A Southern confederacy, and Missouri a part of it, is the open language since these two events. It is a result of the encouragement derived from the adhesion of Missouri, and the expected prostration of Benton. Behold 'the Southern Quarterly Review'!—(holding up a volume.) [illegible] feeling of disunion has made in the public mind, celebrating its advantages to the South, calculating the strength of the new confederacy, (including Missouri in it,) and finding it sufficient for independence—more so than our fathers were at the separation of the colonies from Great Britain. It is a review of this incendiary work of that Ellwood Fisher, who is so industrious at exciting animosity between the North and the South, and who is equally orthodox authority and favorite writer with the master nullifiers in South Carolina and the subaltern crew in Missouri. Listen to these extracts, for they are too startling to be paraphrased; pages 273-4:
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> "'Some twenty years ago, a distinguished citizen of South Carolina in speaking of the encroachments which the North was making on the South, declared that the time might not be far distant when the people of the South would feel called on to 'calculate the value of the Union.' The phrase rung through the land; it shocked the public feeling of both sections, and the author of it was denounced almost as loudly and as universally here as at the North.—Twenty years have hardly passed, and now at this day we find no question so much discussed in this country as the 'value of the Union.' We find it the burden of most of the speeches in Congress; it is mixed in with the proceedings of the legislature of every State; the newspapers in all sections have taken it up: it is the staple of conversation along the thoroughfares of travel. Scarcely a knot can be fallen in with in the street which is not engaged in discussing the Union—its advantages and disadvantages and probable duration. Those who were in active life in 1828, and can remember the excitement attending the passage of the tariff of that year—the 'Bill of Abominations'—and how the boldest and most violent, with almost the single exception above referred to, spoke in whispers when the possibility that the Union might be severed was suggested, cannot but be struck by the vast change which has occurred, when as now they see that event coolly alluded to every day in high places and the public prints, and openly proclaimed by so many North and South as a matter of indifference—if not as a thing to be desired.
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> "Among the States whose disunion proceedings, in their legislatures, are here so complacently noticed is, of course, our own Missouri, subjected to that mortification by the resolves of the last general assembly, and her signature to the second Declaration of Independence.
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> "The reviewer goes on to argue the whole question of disunion, the advantage to the slave States of a separate confederacy, the capacity of the slave States to maintain it, and the necessity for it, from the danger of Abolitionism and the Wilmot proviso. It is too long for copious quotations, and I go at once to the conclusion, as revealing fully what is aimed at. Page 308 and 9, the article says:
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> "'With a population of less than 3,000,000 and a territory of less than 800,000 square miles, our fore-fathers of these then Rebel Provinces engaged in the contest with Great Britain, achieved their independence and established a Republican Empire which already ranks among the first powers of the world and possesses—though only sixty years old—a government which is now among the oldest among civilized nations—nearly every other during that period being more or less revolutionized. If 3,000,000 of people could achieve and establish so much and so well, it is absurd to suppose that a portion of that same people now grown to 9,000,000 in number; possessing all the elements of that social and political organization which carried their ancestors through the great struggles of 1776 and 1789—flourishing too upon the same soil, to which vast areas more fertile still have been added, until their portion embraces, exclusive of New Mexico and California, more than 800,000 square miles, holding and commanding the Gulf and the mouth and the best portion of the valley of the Mississippi, from which their fathers were excluded, should be unable to form and maintain an independent government for themselves, and take a prominent position among nations. Enjoying all the lights of knowledge in all its various branches, capable of furnishing, and perhaps already furnishing more of the raw materials which support commerce and manufactures, than all civilized nations put together—able, when we desire it, to embark ourselves in commerce and manufactures against any competition—united by a peculiar and vital and indissoluble tie—a tie which makes common our interests, our pursuits, our dangers, our sympathies, and even our prejudices—there is nothing to prevent us from standing, no matter who may fall. We have an enrolled militia 700,000 strong. In an emergency we might bring into the field a million of armed men.'
>
> "This is the calculation of the strength of the new confederacy, and in this population of nine millions, the population of Missouri is counted: in these 800,000 square miles of its territory, her 70,000 square miles included: in these 700 000 enrolled militia, her able bodied men from 18 to 45 are enumerated: in these 300,000 more, to make up a million in an emergency, her old men and boys are comprehended. And this is what has been brought upon us by the resolutions of the last General Assembly, and by that Second Declaration of Independence, to which Missouri has one signer. Nullifiers have brought this disgrace upon us, and endeavor to alarm the people into submission to it by a false cry of abolitionism, and wolf-howl of Wilmot proviso.
>
> "These resolutions were passed by virtue of conspiracy against me, to the secret of which only a few were admitted, but which audaciously comprehended in the plan of its execution the corruption of the judiciary, of the state bank, and of the public press; and the deception of the people, by a vast and organized system of lying and defamation.
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> "The so-called Wilmot proviso, is the signal fixed upon by the head contriver, Mr. Calhoun, for the cecession of the Southern States. For that reason this proviso is never called by its true name—Jefferson's."
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> "The true objects of the resolutions are two-fold—against the Union—and against me. The Wilmot Proviso is a pretext. It would have been a dead letter on the statute book, even if passed at the beginning, from the known fact of its utter inapplicability to New Mexico and California. No Slavery was there for it to operate on—none for it to exclude. It was dead then: it is rotten now, when every breeze from the Pacific comes freighted with the voice of indignant determination against Slavery. It is dead there: why keep it up here? Why this rage about nothing? Precisely for the purpose for which the agitation was contrived—precisely for the purpose for which the abolition falsehood was invented, and the Wilmot Proviso howl instituted. For home effect. For alarm and agitation at home. To fire the people. To stir them up. To hold them on to the attack upon Benton and the North. This is the reason, and the sole reason, for now continuing the wolf howl against the defunct proviso. That howl is now the distinctive sign of a Nullifier. In the beginning it extended to good citizens; since the news from California it has contracted its sphere; and now is only heard among the forlorn hope of the drooping army of the martyrs of Calhoun. It is their last howl. They are crying for life; but let them go. They are enemies to the country, and cannot be trusted by the country. Ten years ago, and in reference to Mr. Calhoun and the Presidency, I declared my determination never to vote for Nullifiers. I adhere to it. They are the enemies of the Union; and I eschew the tribe.
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> "The resolutions, taken altogether, are false in their facts, incendiary in their temper, disunion in their object, nullification in their essence, high treason in their remedy, and usurpation in their character. They never passed for instructions, but for crime, and upon conspiracy. The whole concoction, connection and passage of the resolutions was done upon conspiracy, perfected by fraud. It was a plot to get me out of the Senate, and out of the way of the disunion plotter."
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> "The resolutions should be repudiated as a disgrace to the State. They should be disavowed as an injury to her. Missouri owes gratitude to the Northern States for past benefits; she has further benefits to ask; and should not be unwise enough—justice out of the question—to offer insult where conciliation is demanded by interest."
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> "Behold that great commerce which may reach across two oceans and a continent, reaching two other continents, and bringing the greatest cities in the world into contact—Canton, Pekin, Nankin—San Francisco and St. Louis—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore—London, Amsterdam, Paris—and all in one straight line, and that line through the middle of our present blessed Union, and the heart of our own magnificent State, blessed of heaven, cursed only for the moment with the taint of nullification. That road is the prayer of every good man in Missouri—How are you to get it, except by the help of Northern votes? except by the help of the same votes which gave you the road to New Mexico, twenty-five years ago, and which you have forgotten? All is ready for the beginning. The twenty thousand miles of explorations of Fremont and his companions have provided the information which is necessary to begin the work. But the law—the law for the road. No law without votes; and where are they to come from? We have seen the mandate sent forth to the South, and we know its potent effect in the present state of the public mind. We can only begin to look, with hope, among the slave States near along the central line. Kentucky, [Mr. Clay]—Virginia—Maryland—Delaware: then the free States for the remainder: and how are these to be got with these insulting resolutions to stand against them? But they are not yet presented in Congress. The disgrace and the insult are both yet at home, thanks to the feud that delayed them till Congress adjourned! the insult is yet in our hands, subject to be withheld, and withdrawn; and it depends upon this appeal to the people of Missouri whether I shall be permitted to suppress the outrage, and waive the insult, and ask from our Northern friends a continuation of these beneficent votes which we have experienced in the Platte annexation, the removal of Indians, pre-emptions, grants, donations, Santa Fe road, gold, salt, and so many other measures."

The foregoing extracts, unconnected as they are in some instances, will, we are aware, afford but an imperfect idea of the full scope or vigor of this masterly speech. We give enough, however, to show, what we think Colonel Benton has clearly exposed—a deliberate design on the part of a portion of the politicians of the South to dissolve the Union. To this scheme the legislatures of five States have given their countenance, though we have not the least apprehension that it would under any circumstance be pushed to extremity, even by all those, who have been active in promoting it. Indeed, we doubt whether a majority of the people of any State, possibly excepting South Carolina, would be found in favor of a dissolution of the Union, if the issue were practically presented to them. Colonel Benton's exposure of the intrigues of the disunionists has rendered the public an invaluable service. The non-slaveholding States owe him a heavier debt of gratitude. He has boldly come forward in their defence, where misrepresentation and calumny had excited strong prejudice against us—prejudice, which could only be eradicated by one like himself. In thus defending us, and exposing the falsehood of the accusation brought against us for infamous purposes, he has drawn down upon himself the unrelenting enmity of the disunionists, with Mr. Calhoun at their head. Their first manifestation of hostility we have already referred to—the attempt to exclude him from the Committees of the Senate. That this is to be followed up by a series of organized assaults in the Senate and his own State, there is no doubt. In the field of discussion we have no fears for the issue of the contest between him and his assailants. He is more than a match for all of them. If in another field, where intrigue and combination have more power to do evil, and where the work of defence is more difficult, the feelings and temper of the non-slaveholding States if they do not come to his aid with a strength, which will be irresistable, and give him a triumph over his adversaries, which will far outweigh any temporary advantage they may obtain over him.—*Evening Post.*

The Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

From the Syracuse Journal.

Anti-Slavery Mass Convention,

OF THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK, AT CITY HALL.

SYRACUSE, Tuesday, Jan. 15, 1850.

At half past ten o'clock, Rev. Samuel J. May, called the Convention to order, and for the purposes of temporary organization, moved that Joseph C. Hathaway, of Ontario, be temporary Chairman, and that Mr. A. Pruyn, of Onondaga, be Secretary.

On similar motion, a committee of five was appointed to nominate officers, and Business and Finance Committees.

The Chair named the following committees: Messrs. J. Thomas, C. A. Wheaton, of Onondaga, Stephen S. Foster, of Massachusetts, Slocum Howland, of Cayuga, and Charles C. Burleigh, of Connecticut.

[It was understood that Abolitionists, of whatever latitude or longitude, were invited to take part in the proceedings, though the Convention was originally got up by the Abolitionists in this State.]—*Rep.*

The Committe retired, and while absent, Rev. Mr. May read the call of the Convention as follows:

Mass Convention at Syracuse.

It has been determined that a Convention of the Abolitionists of the State of New York shall be held at

SYRACUSE,

On TUESDAY the 16th JANUARY, 1850.

The present aspect of National affairs in regard to the question of Slavery: the present position of political parties in relation to those affairs; the present relation which Abolitionists, who have preserved their faith inviolate, held to these parties; and the relation which abolitionists now sustain to each other and the cause, demand that such a Convention be held in this State: that it be held during the present ensuing of Congress: and that it shall represent the entire strength of that portion of our people who are hostile, not only to the extension of Slavery into new Territories, but to its existence anywhere; who are determined not only to resist its establishment on the coast of the Pacific, or in the valleys of New Mexico, but are equally determined on its extermination on the Atlantic Coast, and in the valley of the Mississippi.

The events of the past year; the events of the passing week; the events, probably, that will stigmatize the present winter, appeal to all who assume to themselves the name of Abolitionists to arouse themselves, at once, to the work of making this the largest, and most influential ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION that has ever been held in this State. The warning cry of

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS,

and their abettors was never more needed than at this moment, and it has never been so heeded as it will be at the present crisis.

Mr. May went on to comment upon the object of the Convention. It was to examine, and discuss the highest Anti-Slavery thoughts and views that had ever been offered by any one and see how far they ought to govern us in our action as citizens. The Convention, from the terms of its call, and from co-operation of the various shades of opinion in promulgating it, was to be regarded as open to all who were at heart enlisted in the cause of the slave.

On motion, a committee of three was oppointed to report Rules and By-Laws for the government of the Convention.

The following gentlemen were appointed: Samuel J. May, Samuel R. Ward and J. W. Loguen.

The Chairman would take this occasion to say, that free discussion was not only tolerated in this Convention, but invited. Remarks from any one, giving their views, be what they may, were desired. He would introduce to the Convention, Henry B. Marshall, who, though born a freeman, was for a number of years sold into Slavery.

Mr. Marshall said Anti-Slavery men ought not to buy the cotton, sugar, &c., of slaveholders. We can raise all we want; why should we patronize soul-drivers? We can raise wood, flax, tea, any thing, and all we want. How can we put down Slavery? By purchasing the productions of Slavery? No! We must stop the slaveholder's market. We can clothe our people without their cotton. He hoped the Convention would adopt a resolution, not to buy them. As soon as this was done by our Free Soil friends, Slavery would die.

Upon request, Mr. Marshall gave an outline of his history. He said he was born in Baltimore—lived there till he was 24 years old—hired as a body servant to J. J. Gethery to go to New Orleans, the year Chas. Carroll of Carrollton died—went there—was one day sent with a note to a gentleman at the Arcade—was decoyed into a prison—his employer called upon him—Marshall said it was very hard for a freeman to be so used—Gethery said he (M.) could not prove that, but agreed to write to Baltimore for testimony—did not do so—said in prison 4 months—Marshall was then sold to Texas, where he lived 14 years, and last February paid $900 for himself—then went through Indian, to get money to purchase his family—then learned that his family were sold, and he could not find out where they were. He then went to Pittsburgh, and Dr. Delany and others recommended that he come to the Convention at Syracuse.

[While the committee on officers were out, the Committee on by-laws, made the following Report, which was unanimously adopted:]

1.—All persons who assume to be Abolitionists, are, in pursuance of the call, invited to become members of the Convention.

2.—A Committee of two shall be appointed, to make a roll of members.

3.—All persons present, are invited to take part in the discussions, but none excepting enrolled members will be expected to vote.

4.—That the Convention continue in session three days.

That it open each morning at 9 o'clock, closing the Morning Session at 12 o'clock.

That the Afternoon Session commence at half past 1 o'clock—to close at half 4 o'clock

That the Evening Session commence at half past six o'clock, and close when they get through.

The Committee on Officers, &c., made the following Report:—

For President—Samuel J. May.

For Vice Presidents—Frederick Douglass and Joseph C. Hathaway.

For Secretaries—J. W. Randolph, Chas. E. Adams.

Business Committee—Charles C. Burleigh, S. H. Gay, Frederick Douglass, Slocum Howland, Abigail Mott.

Finance Commitee—T. G. White, Alanson Thorp, George W. Dean.

On motion, the Report was unanimously adopted.

The President was obliged for the compliment of the Convention. The majority of the committee on officers, were of those opposed to men who called the Convention. The majority of the officers elected, were of those who called the Convention. Resolutions embodying their opinions, will be brought forward; but they can be rejected or approved, as the Convention shall see fit.

The committee on by-laws have made no restrictions as to time in speaking, the number of times, &c., &c., These restrictions have always embarrassed discussions and often the finest flow of thought, shedding light all around, was cut of by the operation of the rule. It would of course be borne in mind, by the members, that due courtesy of each member to all the others, in this particular must be observed.

We ask the fullest consideration and the freest speech, upon all questions. We trust that the Convention will be courteous, kind, free, earnest and candid, on all questions, and will be quickening to us all.

The President, in reply to Mr. Frink, of Syracuse, said that any gentleman was at liberty at any time, to offer any resolution or proposition, for the consideration of the Convention.

C. C. Burleigh, from the Business Committee, reported a series of resolutions.

Report accepted.

On motion, the first four of the series, were taken up, as the first business of the Convention, as follows:

"1. Resolved, That, in comparing the present state of public sentiment and action, on the subject of Slavery, with the past, we see abundant evidence of the power of truth; and feel ourselves admonished and encouraged to be more steadfast and unyielding in our advocacy of the Rights of Man—abounding more and more in this work of the Lord, knowing from what has been done, that our labor is not in vain in the Lord."

"2. Resolved, That the great change which has already been wrought in the land, is plainly attributable to that seemingly insignificant beginning, which a few years ago, (according to the then Mayor of Boston,) was all that could be found of Abolitionism, in a small, obscure apartment in an upper story, by one W. L. Garrison, and a black boy."

"3. Resolved, That the words of truth there uttered, have, as good seed, produced abundantly, from year to year, bringing forth seed after their kind, which, borne everywhere on newspaper wings, scattered far and wide by the winds of controversy, and ploughed in by the ploughshare of persecution, are now planted in every State of this wide-spread Union, and are bringing forth in some thirty, in some sixty, and in some a hundred fold."

"4. Resolved, That the prediction uttered from that little "upper room" in Boston, in 1831, by William L. G——, that the "foot of the young 'Liberator' should make the nation tremble to its centre," has been already fulfilled."

The President, in reading these resolutions, remarked that the "upper room" reference in the 2d resolution, was the sneer of Mr. Otis, then Mayor of Boston. The Governor of Virginia wrote to him that an opposition to Southern "institutions" was organizing in Boston. Mayor Otis replied, that after diligent search, the only evidence he could find, of such intent, consisted in the operations of William L. Garrison and a black boy, in a small room in an upper story.

In 1831 Garrison was publishing the "Liberator," a paper insignificant in size, and in reply to the sneers of other papers, as to his labors, he uttered the memorable declaration quoted in the 4th resolution, and which has already been so signally fulfilled.

On motion, J. W. Loguen and M. Merrick were appointed Committee on Enrollment.

Adjourned to half past one.

FIRST DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was well attended; occasionally there was a Quaker with his hat on.

The President took the chair at the hour.

The minutes of the morning were read.

The President read the rules adopted by the Convention.

He also announced that the Musical Institute, in the first instance offered to give up the Hall for this evening; that, upon reflection, deeming the precedent one which would be likely to lead to serious embarrassment, they declined, and so the meeting for this evening would be held at the Congregational Church—the old battle ground of the Abolitionists in Central New York.

Whereupon the President read the four resolutions from the Business Committee, now before the convention for action.

[Gerrit Smith came in during the reading, looking in fine health.]

S. R. Ward said that Mr. Wing had for sale the portraits of Hale the Senator and Gerrit Smith the man.

The President announced that the first four resolutions were under consideration, as the first business of the convention.

Mr. C. C. Burleigh remarked upon the encouragement for future and increased effort in times to come, which could be derived from the history of the past.—Men who were climbing slippery acclivities were benefitted by pausing and surveying the ground that had been traversed. If he, in this retrospect, discovers evidence that he has overcome obstacles, and considering what has been done, has advanced with an encouraging rapidity, he has renewed reason for greater effort. We have been ascending the steep acclivity for 20 years. Mr. B. went on in a highly wrought and forcible description of the work of the Abolitionists, and said that they might as well say, that "hitherto the Lord hath helped us." No other strength but his, could have borne us up so far; could have enabled us to meet the persecutions, obloquy, and discouragements, and dangers which thickly thronged our way, when first we turned our faces towards the goal, which brightens every day, the nearer we approach it. Who does not remember the feebleness, the lowliness of this enterprise, which now shakes the nation! The force of this sentiment is felt in the cabinet, in the councils of the nation, in the family circle—every where in our country. Mr. B. referred to the uncompromising positions taken by Garrison, and eloquently personated the contempt expressed by the purpled Mayor of Boston, as indicated in the resolutions. He described Mr. G. as a printer's boy, scarce in his majority, without the aid of family or fortune, as the instrument to bring Slavery to account at the bar of God—and anticipating the final decision to bring it before the nation. It went out as a still small voice—to be echoed back at first by mobocracy, but soon to come back from the pine woods of Maine, from the bayous of the Mississippi, and from the ridgey shores of the Pacific. We know we shall triumph. We are not dealing in abstractions or sophisms. We are dealing in self-evident truth; in these sentiments of love and goodness which are to redeem the world. We are mighty, because we throw ourselves in the cause which is to move the world. Nothing can stand against us. This is the reason why the young printer could speak in a tone so positive, so unfaltering as was used by him when standing thus unaided and alone.

We were told the other day, in this Hall, (by President Hopkins,) that knowledge is power—and it was illustrated by the rule we have obtained over the material world. It is equally true, that he who acts in harmony with the divine will, has an equally mighty moral power, one which astonishes credulity itself, and outwonders the miracles of antiquity. He has control over a mightier and higher nature, than he who touches the keys of the Magnetic Telegraph.

What was it 15 or 20 years ago, to be an Abolitionist? It was to be a fanatic and an enthusiast—to be an object of scorn, contempt, hatred and persecution: and to be fortunate indeed, if he escaped with only the loss of property, and the destruction of his house, over his head, and not to be dragged through the streets with a rope around his body, then to be cast into prison.—The pioneers did not foresee all they were to encounter—and it was perhaps well they did not. They supposed they would get help from the strong and influential—but in this they soon found their mistake. But they went on, subduing everywhere.

The vast majority of Northern politicians are now contending as to who is *best* entitled to the appellation of hostility to Slavery. We have not converted them; but we have demonstrated the homage which vice ever pays to virtue, by compelling them to assume the garb of hypocrisy. We may not trust them, but we may take courage, when it comes to be *policy* for such men to assume our principles.

You see how it is in the political world. A few years ago, if the question had been raised whether Slavery should exist in new territory, it would have been met with scorn and contempt. Who opposed the annexation of Arkansas or Florida as slave States?

Slavery has been extending its area, extending and strengthening its political power; yet in spite of all its super-human and diabolical efforts, the Anti-Slavery cause has been able to *dictate* the Legislation of half the States of the Union, the ecclesiastical bodies of half the Union; and to induce the mass who never occupy places in those bodies, to *crowd them* to an expression hostile to Slavery, we may well say, that our principles are almighty in their power.

Mr. B. went on to say that when he first went to Pennsylvania, the Abolitionists could not have the hall of the Legislature to meet in; but before he left the State, by a unanimous vote of both Houses, it was voted that the jails of Pennsylvania should not longer be the ware house of the slaveholders.

When he went to Ohio ten years ago, the "black code" of that State, provided that a colored man could not be a witness; should be taxed for the school system, but should not enjoy its benefits; and the two political parties vied with each other in justifying these outrages; but that "code" has vanished.

In Massachusetts, when he first went there, the voice of the cannon or the trumpet would perhaps drown the speaker on Abolitionism; and the Governor intimated that Abolitionism was a crime which could be prosecuted at common law; and if not, the legislature could supply the deficiency.

Ten or twelve years ago, every Democratic and Whig candidate, took the utmost pains to convey the idea that he was not tinctured with Abolitionism. Yet in 1848 and 1849, all were attempting to make the people believe that they were thorough-going in their hostility to Slavery. He referred to the course of Thadeus Stephens, of Pennsylvania, as an illustration; at the same time, insisting that he was inconsistent in supporting General Taylor for the Presidency.

I had designed to show some signs of progress in the religious world; for public action and morality are now so *far apart*, that although the *one* might be sick of the worst diseases, the other might present a clean bill of health! Although it might seem abrupt, he would here yield the floor.

The reading of the resolutions was here called for.

The President said he might be pardoned in uttering some of the reflections of the past. Twenty years ago, last October, he was on a visit to Boston. He had seen some of W. L. Garrison's articles, and deemed him a man of rare power. In a day or two Garrison was advertised to speak on Slavery and Colonization. A few were there. The first sentences he uttered thrilled the audience. I felt sure he was destined to do a great work, the sentiments were so true, and so far in advance of the age. I gave him my hand; but said I could not comprehend all he had uttered, and could not then assent to all. He was engaged in writing to the prominent men of the country. He had been imprisoned thirteen or fourteen weeks in jail in Baltimore, and had been released by Arthur Tappan. He seemed to feel that all that would be necessary, would be to let the great and good men of the country, as they were called, know the facts, to arouse them to the work in behalf of the oppressed. He was endeavoring to communicate the facts he had learned by his residence at the South. He wrote to Webster, Jeremiah Mason, Dr. Beecher, and others. In a few months I saw him again, and found a cloud upon his brow. "What means it," said he, "that these men take no interest in this cause?" He was thrown wholly and entirely on truth and the God of truth. Just twenty years ago, this month, he issued the first number of the "Liberator"—a small paper full of burning thoughts and burning words, and in a few months almost every paper had noticed it. It made itself felt from the moment it commenced to be. Soon, some of the mightier of the press, affected to treat it with scorn, contempt and ridicule. Then came his memorable declaration quoted in the resolution. At first glance, it seemed to me almost ridiculous; but on the slightest reflection it seemed sublime! He felt that the sentiments he uttered were true, and that the country would tremble before it as it trembles now.

The great truth he uttered was this: That the holding of men as property was a sin against God and against man. In January, 1831, a meeting was called, and discussed the matter, and TWELVE of us formed a society, and called it the New England Anti-Slavery Society; and that was the first organized Anti-Slavery movement. If any of us show a want of confidence in the power of truth, call us infidels; for after our experience, it is demonstrated, that let whoever will take up any truth, however humble he may be, it is sufficiently powerful to make all its opponents tremble.

Mr. Pruyn said it was well, when engaging in a warfare, to look well to the state of our armory and our forces, and also at the appointments of our adversaries and of their ability to overthrow us. He would not have the power of error secured to their vision, by the brightness of that of truth.

Mr. S. S. Foster moved the adoption of the resolutions. There was much important business to do. Principles were to be discussed and settled. It was necessary to discuss the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society; for only by discussion, could any be conceived. There were opponents of this Society, here, and he was rejoiced to see them here, to discuss these principles, face to face. He was sure, this Convention would be an occasion of triumph to that society; for he was convinced it was correct. The word "Liberty" is hardly heard from one week's end to another in the eastern part of the State. Nothing is done. I do not care what measures are adopted, if they are right ones. I have no confidence in compromises; they have been the curses of many friends of the slave, thinking they could make something in a bargain with the devil. Business first, then talking, visiting, pleasure.

He concluded with a motion to take the question.

Seconded.

Mr. Pillsbury would dwell upon the idea of Mr. Burleigh and the President, that the Anti-Slavery movement was pre eminently a religious movement. Nothing but the strongest, sternest religious faith could have sustained us in our labors. And it sustains all who engage in great enterprises; great, because they are good. He referred to the futile attempts to settle New England on selfish principles; but the attempt was pre-eminently successful in the hands of men of firm and unshaken faith, like the puritants. So of the Anti-Slavery movement. It ought to be understood that the principles of the Abolitionists appeal to the best affections of the heart and soul; and no one can be a pure Abolitionist, who is not devoted heart and soul to the cause of truth. Thus regenerate, he is ready for the work.

The resolutions under consideration were again read and UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED.

The President then read the balance of the report of the Business Committee, as follows:

"5. Resolved, That the action of the government of the United States, has from the first, been embarrassed by that greatest of all incongruities in a Democratic Republic—the institution of Slavery. And that the government has been kept in operation only by the Northern compromises. This oil is well nigh dried up by the heat of Anti-Slavery truth; and the question for the people to determine is whether the oil of compromise shall be replenished, or that Slavery, the great cause of that friction which impedes the free, consistent, happy operation of our government, shall be utterly removed.

"6. Resolved, That the actual stand-still to which the machinery of our government was brought for weeks at the opening of the present session of Congress, by a little dust, a little "free soil" that was thrown into it, shows plainly that it must ere long stop entirely unless Slavery or Freedom gives up the conflict.

"7. Resolved, That it had been far better for the welfare and honor of our country, if the House of Representatives had never been able to organize itself, than that it should do so by a portion of the Northern members yielding to the demands of the abettors of Slavery for that no action of our Congress can be for the good much less the glory of our Republic, which commenced in a compromise of Right.

"8. Resolved, That inasmuch as the slaveholder has no right to keep his slaves in bondage, and therefore that the slave has a right to escape to freedom; and we have consequently no right to hinder him from doing so, or to help to take and re-enslave him; and as we have no right to make promises which cannot rightfully be kept, or laws which cannot rightfully be obeyed, it follows that the provision of the American Constitution, which requires the giving up of the runaway to his master, ought never to have been adopted, and ought not now to be obeyed; nor have we any right to promise obedience to it.

"Resolved, Therefore, that we hereby repeat the announcement of our fixed purpose never to aid in the re-capture and re-enstatment of the escaping bondman, nor to promise support or obedience to the Constitution while it contains the provision alluded to; but will always, to the best of our ability, as opportunity offers, help the fugitive to gain and keep that priceless blessing which he seeks, and to which he has an inalienable birth-right.

"Resolved, That we have no right to aid or promise to aid in putting down by bloody violence, an insurrection of the slaves for freedom, because if it be *right* to fight in defence of our most sacred and precious rights, the slaves would be right in such an insurrection, and of course to fight against them would be wrong; but if on the other hand, it be *wrong* to fight in defence of our own rights, still more must it be wrong to fight against the no less sacred and precious right of our fellow men.

"11. Resolved, That while the Constitution requires us to go, at the bidding of any slave State, and suppress by force an effort of the slaves to win liberty by violence, we have no right to promise, and will not promise support and obedience to that Constitution.

"12. Resolved, That we have no right to grant peculiar privileges to evil-doers, on account of their evil-doing, and in proportion to its extent, we cannot rightfully invest the slaveholder with political power in proportion to the number of his slaves; and therefore we cannot rightfully sustain, or promise to sustain, the Constitution, while it gives the slave States a representation in Congress for three-fifths of the slaves.

"13. Resolved, That if each individual is morally bound to refuse his help to the recapture of runaways from Slavery, and to the forcible suppression of slave insurrections, for freedom, and to the giving of political power to slave States, on account of their slaves, then the whole community, made up of these individuals, is equally bound to take the same position.

"14. Resolved, That to take this position, is to renounce allegiance to the Constitution; to withdraw from the present existing American Union; and practically to adopt the motto, No Union with Slaveholders.

Mr. Pillsbury remarked that he was highly pleased with the resolutions of the committee; but should read his resolution, as a conclusion of the whole matter. It was as follows:

"Resolved, That among all the agencies and instrumentalities whose professed object is the overthrow of Slavery, none has entitled itself to the full co-operation and support of the people, but the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its organized or individual auxiliaries. None other can claim to be based upon immutable principles. None other has maintained inviolate even the principles upon which it set out; and none other stands out to-day before the world, clear in its doctrines as the sun, fair in its fidelity to those doctrines as the moon, and terrible in its righteous demands upon, and rebukes of, the tyrant, as an army with banners. And as such, *it, and it only*, is worthy the regard, the cordial sympathy and support of every lover of Humanity and Man."

Mr. Foster moved that this resolution be taken up for discussion. He liked it better, for it covered the whole ground. To his mind, all who are friends to the slave, ought to agree in the support of this society, on this principle that the great work to be done, was to *revolutionize public sentiment by the power of truth.*—If the proposition of the resolution be true, we are agreed. It was desirable at the onset, to settle this question. He desired to hear the reasons why all did not support the society; he wanted they should convert him to their views, or else be converted to his own.

Mr. Remond desired to know what was the question.

Mr. Foster yielded the floor.

Mr. Thomas moved that the discussion of the question between the Anti-Slavery Party and the Liberty Party open at the commencement of the session. The Liberty Party would be represented by their champion, Gerrit Smith, and the other organization may be represented by whomsoever they choose. They have thrown down the challenge; we accept it. He desired to have all things done with fairness and order.

Mr. Remond hoped the amendment of Mr Thomas would not prevail. If this is the question of questions, so far as this Convention is concerned, it ought to be first on the list, or we will be liable to lose precious time. I do not subscribe on the one side, or question the other. He was opposed to having chosen champions to discuss the question.

Mr. C A. Wheaton remarked that the Convention was to sit three days, which might allay the gentleman's fears.

Mr. Thomas had no idea that the discussion was to be limited to any selected number of champions—he would oppose that. He only desired to have order. I mentioned to-morrow morning, because then the people would be here, provided they were notified that the discussion was to come off. The great question of the country is involved; the question whether the Constitution is for or against slavery.

The President remarked that the course proposed was one very often pursued in the early history of the Anti-Slavery movement; to have one subject set down for one time and another for another.

Mr. Remond had no idea that it was intended to curtail the range or freedom of debate. He owned he differed from his friend Mr. Thomas. There had been an intimation that lawyers and judges and politicians would, if notified be present. The meeting has been widely advertised; and those who take an interest can be here, if they choose. Besides the house was full, already; and we should have no place to put any more.

The President begged to remark, that if the meeting were to go on in order, they would reach the question to-morrow.

Mr. Foster repeated his idea, that the first question was, the "integrity of the American Anti-slavery Society"—whether it was the true anti-slavery instrumentality. He went on to remark that it was not proper to indicate champions. He did not like championship; it was a good word for partizans; for those who represent others, but no man could represent him. He had objections to the Free Soil Party, the Liberty Party, the Democratic and the Whig Party.

Mr. Burleigh said every man should come forward as his own champion. There were probably a hundred here, who on some points differed. He was in favor of discussing measures this evening, and the constitutional question to-morrow.

Mr. Ward remarked that the fun had over the matter of championship, was all very well, and would do them good. It was merely proposed on the part of the Liberty Party, that Mr. Smith should advocate their views. The friends of the Anti-Slavery Society, would conduct it as they should see fit.

Mr Pruyn and Mr. Ward made some further remarks.

The President stated the question before the house to be, that the Constitutional Question should be taken up to-morrow morning.

Mr. Pillsbury did not so understand the question.

Mr. Thomas stated his motion to be, that so much of the two sets of resolutions as reflects upon the Liberty Party, advocates the Anti-Slavery Society, and refers to the constitutional question, be discussed to-morrow morning.

Adjournment moved and carried.

Mr. Foster moved that the resolution of Mr Pillsbury be taken up, as the next business of the convention.

Mr. Gerrit Smith would say a single word He was opposed to the American Anti-Slavery Society; for that Society held to the opinion that the American Constitution was a pro-slavery instrument. Hence a discussion by him of the resolution offered by Mr. Pillsbury, would involve the discussion of the constitutional question; and that he should certainly prefer to discuss to-morrow. There were topics enough for to-night, he would like to hear many gentlemen upon the sham churches of America; there were topics to occupy our attention this evening.

Mr. Foster said the wishes of Mr. Smith in this particular, were his wishes.

It was finally agreed, that the various topics in the resolutions, not embracing the constitutional question, would be taken up this evening.

Adjourned to 6 1-2 o'clock.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1850.

The Sixteenth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The Sixteenth Anti-Slavery Bazaar opened Monday, Dec. 24th, and closed on the evening of the 3d of January, 1850. The receipts were $3,360, being an increase of $135 on those of last year. Circumstances were in several respects so much more favorable that a casual observer might have anticipated a much larger increase. The weather, with the exception of one or two days, was unusually fine, and all contributions from abroad arrived in due season. As a whole, our collection was never more beautiful, abundant or saleable. The number of visitors, particularly through the first six days was very large. There were two circumstances, however, that diminished our receipts, the absence of the *Liberty Bell*, and the opening of the Bazaar at so late a day. The publication of the *Liberty Bell* was prevented by circumstances that the editor could not well control, and it was judged best, though with much regret, to defer it until another year. Pecuniarily we find its publication of considerable importance, but as in addition to this we value it as an instrumentality by which the truth can be conveyed to classes among whom our periodical Anti-Slavery literature finds a very imperfect circulation. True, the *Liberty Bell* is in no respect all the lover of art and genius would desire. The insufficient funds of the Anti-Slavery enterprise cannot be devoted to pictures and gilding: these are due to the *necessities* of the cause, and not till its triumphs are more nearly won shall we be able to commend it to popular favor by those beautiful and effective but costly instrumentalities, which are its natural and appropriate allies. It is encouraging that these cannot be wielded *against* us. The poet, the painter, the sculptor, *as such*, are with us, and borrow their inspiration from the very doctrines we promulgate. The artist laboring, *as such*, gives us that collateral help that no after action of his, be it mercantile, political, or even theological can annihilate. Were Powers a slaveholder, the work of his hands would remain, and though Rouget fled in terror before the music of his own creation, none the less do the suffering masses rise at the sound of the Marsellaise.

But to the *direct* influence of many famous writers our humble annual can lay little claim. The literature of a slaveholding country, must, of necessity, partake the universal corruption, and we receive no help that comes not as a free will offering from unpolluted hands. We owe our literary assistance to the noble men and women whose own lives furnish the material from which song and romance is made, and we ask no mercenary help from men whose daily subservience to Slavery contradicts every true and noble word that as poets they have uttered.

But though Anti-Slavery is unpopular in America, it is not so the wide world through The sympathies of European literature are with us, and the hands of many, nobly distinguished in its annals, have, through the *Liberty Bell*, rung such peals in the ears of oppressors that the fainting hearts of the slave's friends have been strengthened to endure to the end.

These are some of the considerations that make the *Liberty Bell* dear to our hearts and urge us to insist on its continuance. This article will reach the eyes of many whose help we shall need as writers or as givers; and we wish all such to be fully aware of the importance of the instrumentality for which their help is sought. This must excuse us for interrupting for a moment the thread of our narration.

It would have been for the pecuniary benefit of the Bazaar, as we have said above, could it have opened at an earlier day. Many friends, hitherto depending on it for their Christmas gifts, were obliged to procure them elsewhere. We had taken this circumstance into view, but as many of the arrangements connected with the Bazaar are beyond our control, we found it would be impossible to commence at an earlier date. We trust to avoid this difficulty in future. Should the Managers be permitted to renew their efforts another year, they would name *Thursday, the 19th of December*, as the day on which the Bazaar shall open. By announcing the date thus early, all our friends, both at home and abroad, can make their arrangements with ease and certainty. To the dear friends in Great Britain whose labors are so unwearied and abundant, we would suggest it as highly desirable that their donations arrive as early as the 1st of December. In the very nature of the case, the labor of preparation must be divided among a few, so that the *proper* examination and arrangements of so large a variety of articles can hardly take place if they arrive on the very eve of the opening of the Bazaar.

The decorations of Faneuil Hall, the same as in previous years, were the admiration of all beholders, a more beautiful effect even than usual being produced; thanks to the painting and other improvements ordered by the city the past summer. For the abundant supply of evergreens suitable to the occasion we are again indebted to Messrs. William and Ebenezar Jenkins, Messrs. Holt, Shepherd, Smith, Weston, Brigham and Dyer. In no way are we more effectually served than by this kindness, which, without trouble or expense on our part, places in Faneuil Hall at the appointed hour the "moving wood" necessary to embellish a hall of such ample dimensions.

The same grateful acknowledgments are also due to the Messrs. Wellingtons, Quincy, Towne, Cowing, Wells, Williams, Crosby, Jackson and May, for the tasteful arrangement of these abundant materials. None but an eye witness can appreciate the fatiguing labor consequent on such a task.

Boxes of great value and beauty were received from Glasgow, Perth, Edinburgh, Bristol, Leeds, Cork, Dublin and Paris. In these boxes were included valuable donations from Kirkcaldy, Dundee, Auchterarder, Bridgewater, Walthamston and London, also beautiful gifts from individuals scattered throughout the three Kingdoms whose locality it would be unnecessary to particularize. The letters accompanying these donations are most grateful to our hearts, proving conclusively, as they do, that these "works of faith" and "labors of love" are the result of no transient emotion, of no mere compassionate impulse, but proceed from a most intense conviction of the evil of Slavery, and a most earnest sense of the personal obligation of laboring for its removal. Our foreign coadjutors have not lightly assumed this burden, nor are they ignorant that "patient continuance in well doing" its service demands. Every letter seeks for the information that shall aid the work of the coming year. "What articles are the most saleable, the most admired, the best suited to your market?" are queries of constant recurrence. We shall partially answer such by pointing out at each table, as far as our memory serves, those articles that commanded the most general admiration and the readiest sale. The Glasgow and Edinburgh and Kirkcaldy Shawls were greatly admired, not merely for the fineness of their fabric, but for their tasteful selection of patterns. The Ladies' and Childrens' Polkas from Perth and Edinburgh found a ready sale, as did indeed all the large and beautiful variety of worsted work, both netted and crotchetted that arrived in each of the foreign boxes. Among the articles attracting special admiration were the Affghan Blankets and Cushions from Edinburgh, the Garden Chairs and elegant Sofa Cushions from Perth, Infants' Cloaks, Bonnets and embroidered Aprons from Glasgow, exquisite Honiton Lace, Basket work, and Dolls in costume from Bristol, fine Screens from Bridgewater, most beautifully wrought on white satin, a very beautiful Hearth Rug wrought in Berlin wool, from Leeds, Etchings on Linen in permanent ink, after the Elgin Marbles, also from Leeds and very splendid pieces of Tapestry from Cork, one a group of flowers, the most beautiful piece of the kind ever exhibited in any of our Bazaars, the other, "the Departure of [illegible]

For the very valuable box of paper and other articles from De La Rue's establishment we are indebted to the kindness of our Dublin friends. The selection was made with the most excellent taste and judgment as was fully apparent by the receipts of the Book Table the articles adorning which were chiefly supplied by the contributions from Dublin, via De La Rue, and the very exquisite articles in China, Bronze and Inlaid Work from our friends in Paris. We will pass over a multitude of beautiful objects here, merely remarking that this table was esteemed more elegant and valuable than on any former occasion. The Sea Mosses from Cork were admired as usual, but having been introduced into our shops, are not, of course, in the same demand as last year A book of pressed flowers and shrubs from Dundee, many plucked from the graves of the Cameronian martyrs, was examined with much interest. No objects at the Bazaar are more highly prized than those connected with any historical or poetical association. Hence we saw with much pleasure a few fossil shells, picked up on the shore of Whitby, England, with the following lines from Marmion attached:

"Then Whitby's nuns exulting told

* * * * * *

"And how of thousand snakes, each one
"Was changed into a coil of stone
"When holy Hilda prayed.
"Themselves within their holy bound
"Their strong folds had often found."

We are pained by the recollection of some very valuable autographs, received through the hands of our Edinburgh friends. The giver, Mary Wiffen, one of a family to whose active philanthropy and literary taste the Bazaar has owed several rare donations, has been summoned, before her gifts could reach their destination, to a higher sphere of action. We examined with a saddened interest the package, and the memories of the warriors and statesmen whose names were there recorded were in our eyes less dear and sacred than hers.

Mrs. Thomas, Miss Carpenter, and Mrs. Richards, again enriched the Bazaar by their very beautiful drawings in water colors and chalk.

But probably the most ingenious and attractive object in the whole Bazaar, and the one that elicited the liveliest expressions of wonder and admiration was the Model of

"A May Day Village Club and Fair
In the West of England."

This was the work and gift of Mrs. Michell and Miss Ames of Bristol, and we are not surprised to learn that six months was occupied in its construction. We feel that no words of ours can equal the very lively and piquant description of the same from the pen of another Bristol lady, and we will therefore take the liberty of subjoining it, premising that the description is not, in the least, over colored:

"I chanced one bright May morning, to be riding through a pleasant part of Somersetshire, and after passing through a long lane, of beauty, with the most perfect quiet, I came suddenly at a turn in the road, upon a large village green, and my attention was instantly withdrawn from my own meditations, and attracted to the scene before me.

"Between one and two hundred persons, and all kinds of animals, were collected on this spot, and I rode on, amidst the merry laughter of some, the eager talking of others, the shouts of children, the barking of dogs, the braying of asses, the whistle of the penny trumpet, the "buy a broom" of one girl, and the "please give me a halfpenny" of another. Soon I caught the well-known cheerful sound of the Village Band, as it paraded before one of the prettiest group of girls, marshalled in order of two and two, and all bending their steps to the centre of the green, where stood the attraction of the day, the far famed May Pole.

"These young girls, perhaps twenty in number, were dressed in white, with blue scarfs; and at the foot of the Pole stood those who were to be elected King and Queen. Oh what a happy, cheerful sight was there before me. Here, a Booth, with rare Millenery, with the dainty seller of the same. Another stall had a supply of the prettiest Porcelain—then came one with a collection of toys, of all descriptions, and children, eagerly longing for each and all, as they were displayed by their leader. In another part I espied a boy, just made the happy possessor of a skipping rope, which he scarcely had time to whirl over his head. Then came the attractive stall of Taffy, and lollypops, and gingerbread, and barley-sugar, and all the tempting store of sweets. There a little cage, held the "happy family," dog, cat, bird, mouse, in most harmonious ease. There the swing, and the ever delightful Merry-go-round, and "do look here," Punch and Judy showing off: "do come," cries one; "stop," says another; "one minute, here is a monkey riding on a dog. What fun! Look at that gipsey woman with her child on her back, and better still, there's a show. The great serpent; do let us go in." Here is a stall of such pretty things, bags, and baskets, and ribbons, and combs, and fans, and *everything*. What a pile of vegetables. Oh, do look at that old beggar—and there stands the covered cart which I dare say brought many of these things here. What fat men—what fine women—what merry children. I have not seen one half of the stalls and people yet, and must pass on. But one moment I must wait still, for they will sing God save the Queen; directly, one of the girls has just unfurled the flag on which it is written.

"All this, and much more, I saw and heard. But gentle reader do you *really* think I *saw* and *heard* all this? If you do, I am bound to undeceive you, and to tell you that this joyous, happy scene, was all faithfully portrayed, by ladies' tastes, and ladies' fingers, on a platform of Cork, and with materials of bread, and paints, and beads, and such like fairy means. It was beheld by me, not on the bright and flowery Green, on the first of the blooming month of May, but in a parlor of a house in Park street, Bristol, and on one of the dullest days of dull November. But it *was one blaze of light*, for its purpose was, to give pleasure to our Transatlantic Brethren, by showing them an Old World, Rural scene, and its proceeds, to aid the noble cause of Freedom to the Slave!"

But as there are some cool and cautious minds more affected by calm statistics than by flowers of rhetoric, we will proceed to a description a little more minute, as it is impossible to estimate the wonderful finish and delicacy of the work, unless its dimensions are accurately known. It is then 26 inches long and 19 wide; the booths and tables about 4 inches high; they are of the most delicate workmanship, as is the whole of the wood work of the fair for which the ladies constructing it were indebted to Mr. Prior Estlin. The men and women are about an inch and a half in height, and the number of figures in all are 180. Thirty of these are little wooden dolls, all the others are made of bread.

Contrary to our fears, this delicate piece of work arrived without sustaining any injury of importance Thanks to the great care and forethought of all parties, not a figure was injured. A small sum was asked for its exhibition, and a considerable amount was thus realized, though it was not shown the first day of the Fair, the glass case that was necessary to protect it from careless touch, being unfortunately uncompleted. It has been judged best to make no effort this year for its sale, but to retain it till next year's Bazaar, when, as our visitors vary greatly from year to year, it may continue a source of profit previous to its final disposal.

In glancing over the list of our domestic contributions we find great cause for encouragement. From small beginnings this movement has so increased in magnitude that it is not in our power to arrange separate tables, except to such towns as are able to furnish large and valuable supplies. This was done by New Bedford, West Roxbury, Cambridge, Lynn, Plymouth, Dedham, Salem, Leominster and Upton. In all these towns it is to the energetic and self-denying labors of a few that the cause is indebted; here have the Anti-Slavery principles taken deep root, and though some efficient laborers have been removed by death, and others, sadder still, have wearied in well doing and ceased to labor as in days of old, yet new friends have come forward to fill the ranks made vacant by death or desertion.

But the number of places and individuals from which donations of money and articles have been received, has greatly increased, and encourages us to hope that the influence of the Bazaar may, in time, be so widely felt that it shall deserve the name of National, not merely in the scope of its design, but in virtue of its remote and scattered contributions. We will enumerate, as far as possible, the places from which donations were received, trusting that each and all will excuse a more particular acknowledgement. The articles were generally well suited to the occasion, and such as remain unsold will be carefully preserved to grace some of the frequent Fairs that are held in the country towns of Massachusetts, the proceeds of which are devoted to the furtherance of the same great object. From some places were received donations of money. Of these we shall subjoin in another place a more particular account We would suggest to those Female A. S. Societies which may not find it convenient to work for the Bazaar this mode of encouragement and assistance. The knowledge that during the Christmas week of each year a special effort is making by the women of Mass. to place the requisite amount of funds at the disposal of the American Society has naturally the effect of stirring up the hearts of all who sympathize in such endeavors, and though the same amount might have been contributed through some other channel, its value is enhanced, inasmuch as it becomes part of a systematic and continuous arrangement on which the Parent Society may in some measure reasonably rely for the carrying forward of its purposes.

Donations were received from A. S. Societies or individuals resident in the following places: Plympton, Lowell, Foxborough, Sharon, Dennis, Westminster, West Cambridge, Roxbury, Cummington, Bensonville, Abington, South Abington, Nantucket, Worcester, Rayham, North Bridgewater, Hanover, Waltham, Weymouth, Cambridgeport, Charlestown, Duxbury, Dorchester, Hingham, Leominster and Walpole, all of Mass. From Portsmouth, N. H.; Portland, Maine; Brookline, Conn.; Henniker, N.Y.; Haddam, Conn.; Long Island, and from Danbury and Amherst, N. H.; various useful and beautiful donations were received. It is probable that [illegible] the hurry and confusion of the occasion: gifts arriving while the Fair was in progress might not have been reported to us by the Ladies on whose tables they were placed. We beg such donors to consider our gratitude none the less. We shall not attempt to refer to many most valuable donations made us in Boston and its vicinity. From the beautiful pressed Forest Leaves of Mr. Kenrick of Cambridgeport, to the 35 boxes of most excellent Soap, presented by Mr. Edmund Jackson of Boston, (and we submit that between these two antipodes of ornament and use much is included) all was acceptable and much was saleable. We must not forget to express a very grateful sense of the kindness of the Ladies of Upton, Concord and Hingham, who assisted most lavishly to supply the Refreshment Table with Cake, Confectionary, and other good things. The assistance given in this manner was more valuable to us than it could have been conferred in any other shape.

We are also greatly indebted to Messrs. Redding & Co., proprietors of the Tea store, 198 Washington street, for their generous donation—also to the Messrs Hebard, of West Randolph, Vt. Such a memorial from such a distance was wholly unlooked for, but extremely acceptable.

We would once again express our thanks to Messrs. Collamore & Co., 98 Washington street, for the loan of china, and to Mr. Marjoram for his kindness in the supply of confectionary, and in various other methods.

We must not omit to mention as one of the chief attractions of the occasion, the eloquent and interesting remarks offered on successive evenings by Mr. Phillips' Miss Stone, and Messrs. Quincy and Pillsbury. We only regret that owing to the uncertainty of arrangements, it was impossible to give more widely extended notice.

We have finished our imperfect account of the labors and success of the Bazaar of 1850: of the trifling amount of both, in comparison with the great work before us, no one can be more entirely aware than ourselves. It is not a small thing to awaken the conscience and soften the heart of a great nation, and how gladly would we resign our part of the work to stronger hands. When we regard the fearful condition of our country at the present time, the question before it, not whether Slavery be abolished where it now exists, but whether it be established in lands and climes hitherto uncursed by its presence, and see the "respectable" presses of Boston oracularly announce that the present is no time to increase the agitation on this subject, and the clergymen of Boston redoubling their efforts for the promulgation of the Gospel in Heathen lands, and the Legislature now in session in its State House, striving to ascertain how small a concession to Freedom may satisfy the half-awakened conscience of its constituency, we then feel that in the recreancy of these and other influential classes resides the stimulus that urges us into a warfare whose responsibilities were indeed too heavy were it not for the approbation allotted of old to her who hath done what she could. While we write, a young girl of 19, from Wilmington, North Carolina, has arrived in the port of Boston. She comes half-starved and half-frozen, leaving her infant child behind, the vessel in which she was concealed having been repeatedly smoked as it lay at the Southern wharf, that she might, to save her life, be induced to come forth from her suspected hiding-place.

How is the arrival of this woman hailed in Boston. The story is told as an item of news in the daily papers, and, thanks to that common sense which at times supplies the place of humanity and conscience, the poor victim of unnumbered oppressions is not absolutely blamed for asserting her ownership to her own person. But no strong sympathy, no burning indignation finds a place. The Captain of the vessel makes a statement expressive of his regret at the occurrence of so untoward an event, and his sense of the sin of helping a slave's escape, and nobody thinks it at all disgraceful or reprehensible. The injury done to trade, the possible detention and loss of the vessel, the annoyance of the Captain, all these are greatly insisted on, and that by professed believers in the New Testament, by men who have listened a thousand times with pretended acquiescence to the text "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" To say that the destruction of ship and cargo were little in comparison with the life-long bondage of this poor girl would be esteemed the wildest fanaticism, people naively asking in their intense selfishness "How should *I* like injury done to *my* trade or *my* ship at the South?" not remembering that the querry should be "Were it *my daughter* fleeing from Algerine bondage?"

Loud and long is the indignation expressed against the barbarities of Russia and Austria, but it occurs not to the minds of the community in which we dwell that similar atrocities are performing at our very doors, and that every man recognizing the Constitution of the United States as binding on his conscience, is pledged to deliver to the Haynaus of the South their fugitive victims. The subject is too mournful, the reflections it awakens too bitter and humiliating, or one might find amusement in the recent debate in the United States Senate on the propriety of interrupting diplomatic relations with Austria. *We* to affect to rebuke the nations, who, had we been but faithful to our mission, might have been the glory and beauty of the whole earth, instead of being as now the shame and stumbling block of European progress!

In these circumstances, Freedom and Humanity call on all, irrespective of class, creed, condition or sex, and whoever responds, has a commission

"From that supreme judge, who stirs good thoughts
In any breast of strong authority
To look into the blots and stains of right."

From the remarks that we have made, our foreign coadjutors might infer that our hopes of a successful [illegible] than heretofore; but it is not so; not till the agitation that now convulses Congress and every State Legislature throughout the country, that furnishes subject for debate in every newspaper and supplies themes for discussion to every way-side gathering, shall have subsided into the apathetic and brutal indifference that preceded this awakening, shall we know discouragement. In discussion, remonstrance, debate, the truth has nothing to dread. It is, therefore, *our* mission to create and foster that intense, real, heartfelt emotion on the question of American Slavery, from which the minor and lower, and, in too many instances, the selfish and partizan agitation that mixes with this subject, must necessarily flow.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, with which we are in agreement, declares as absolute truth the oneness and equality of the human race, hence, the sin of Slavery, and the duty of immediate emancipation. Holding these truths, not in levity and hypocrisy, but in earnest and soul felt sincerity, its members would promulgate their convictions, not by appeals to passion, pride, pecuniary success, or political ambition, but to those nobler and stronger motives of action that exist in every human soul, witnessing to "that light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." We summon men to this warfare by the value of genuine repentance, of self-sacrificing devotion to the weal of others, of generous labor for the despised and helpless, and, finally, by the remembrance of that strict and perfect account that each shall give to God for the deeds done in the body.

With allies like these, Truth, Dnty, Conscience, we will not despair

———"we will not shrink from hope
"In the worst moment of these evil days,
"From Hope the paramount duty that Heaven lays
"For its Honour on man's suffering heart."

On behalf of the Committee,
A. W. WESTON.

Money received by A. W. Weston for the Bazaar of 1849-50.

Mr. and Mrs Joy, of Northampton, $10,00; Mrs. G. R. Russell, West Roxbury, 10,00; Mr. Perly King, Danvers, 3,00; Mrs. Nancy B. Babcock, Berlin, 10,00; Francis Jackson, Boston, 20,00; William Bowditch, Brookline, 5,00; Duxbury, 1,05; Dennis Female A. S Society, 15,00; Richard Clapp, Dorchester, 5,00; Col. Hunt, Abington, 3,00; A friend, Leominster, 0,50; Bensonville, 1,21; West Brookfield A. S. Sewing Circle, 25,00; Thomas Brown, Boston, 2,00; Mrs. Bates and two other ladies of Hanover, Plymouth county, 5,00; Lewis Ford, Abington, 3,00; Friends in Lancaster, 1,62; Abington, by Mr. Dyer, 1,57; Friends in South Scituate, 2,50; Misses Andrews, Newburyport, 6,00; Balance of donation of Bristol (Eng.) friends, by hands of Rev. R. L. Carpenter, 9,00.

Money received for A. S. Bazaar by M. W. Chapman, Paris.

Mademoiselle Wild, 25 *francs*; Mlle. Maas, 40; Mrs. Ashurst, of London, 125; Miss Mary G. Chapman, 125; Charles F. Hovey, Boston, 300; Miss Sturch, of London, 125; Miss Cabot, 12 1-2; Mr. Estlin, Bristol, 52 1-2; Mrs. Follen, 25.

The Slavery Question in the N. Y. Legislature.

Mr. Geddes of the Senate of this State offered, it will be remembered, early in the Session a series of Resolutions upon the subject of Slavery, which came up last week for consideration They were taken up separately The 1st was read as follows:

Resolved, (if the Assembly concur,) That as the Federal Constitution was formed and adopted expressly to secure the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States and their posterity, our Senators in Congress are hereby instructed and our representatives are requested to use their best efforts to procure the passage of laws that will effectually and forever put an end to the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

After various propositions to amend or postpone, it was on motion of Mr. Starr, made to read, "that the General Government ought to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of the slave trade and slavery wherever it has the constitutional power over these subjects."

The first resolution was then adopted; ayes 29, noes 3.

The question then recurring on the 2d Resolution a debate ensued, a brief report of which we find in the *Post*. Though we should hardly be surprised at any attitude which Mr. Stanton of the Hunker party might assume, we hope for the sake of his friends it is not quite so bad as this report would make it. The second Resolution of the series is:

Resolved, (if the Assembly concur) That the determination indicated by the Governor's Message and the resolutions of the various slave-holding states, and by the Representatives of such states, to extend domestic slavery over the territories acquired in the late treaty of peace with the Republic of Mexico, we feel bound to oppose with all constitutional means; and our Senators in Congress are hereby instructed, and our Representatives requested to use their best efforts to prohibit by positive enactment the extension of slavery over any part of such territory; however small, and by whatever pretence of compromise.

Mr. Skinner characterised it as the Wilmot Proviso.

Mr. Geddes said it was so. It was the corner stone which had been so "rejected."

A motion was made to use the word *prevent* instead of *prohibit*; but the Senate refused, and the second resolution was adopted. Ayes 29, nays 3—Messrs. Brandreth, Brown and Skinner. And the question came on the third resolution:

Resolved, (if the Assembly concur) That our Senators in Congress be instructed, to resist firmly, and to the utmost of their abilities, and by such positive legislation as may be necessary, the extension of human slavery or the jurisdiction of Texas over any part of New Mexico.

Mr. Stanton suggested that this was a question which needed elaborate examination—that his mind was not fully made up in relation to it.

Mr. Geddes argued the propriety of such a declaration at this time.

Mr. Stanton moved to lay the resolution on the table, but the Senate refused by a party vote, except Mr. Curtis, of Sullivan, and Mr. Fox, of Herkimer, voted with the whigs. Ayes 19, nays 13

Mr. Stone then moved to amend the resolution by striking out the words, "extension of human slavery," but the Senate refused. Ayes 7, noes 21. And then the resolution was adopted. Ayes 22, noes 9—Messrs. Brandreth, Brown, Carroll, Cook, Dart, Guinnes, Noyes, Skinner, and Tuttle.

The next three resolutions were adopted by the unanimous and full vote of the Senate.

Resolved, (if the Assembly concur) That we have learned with great satisfaction that the people of California have adopted a Constitution which is entirely in accordence with the spirit of the free institutions of our country—and our Senators in Congress are hereby instructed, and our Representatives requested, to aid in the passing of such laws as may be necessary to admit that state into the Union.

Resolved, (if the Assembly concur,) That the people of this state are desirous of preserving inviolate the Federal Union, and that they will strenuously oppose all attempts from whatever source they may emanate, or under whatever pretence they may be made, to effect its dissolution.

Resolved, (if the Assembly concur.) That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to each of the Senators and Representatives from this state in Congress.

To Charles C. Burleigh.

Jeder grosze Mensch will für die Ewigkeit gearbeitet haben.—Schiller.

There is no nobler sight in life—
In silvered age or stalwart youth—
Then 'mid the meaner common strife,
A heart right loyal to the truth.

A heart like thine that can endure
The failure of the right to see,
Unfaltering, still deeming sure
For truth the final victory.

From the broad chest and tireless thew
In agony great sweat-drops start,
And suffering wild throbs madly through
The pulses of the world's great heart.

But now the crownéd king must flee,
The kaiser tremble on his throne.
And Freedom's watchword gloriously
Is passed from zone to farthest zone—

Where silence o'er the desert reigns,—
The sands the Bedouin wanders o'er,—
Over the vast and snow-white plains
Around the pole-sea's regions froze—

O'er earth's broad continents where smiles
The golden sunshine, full and free,
To all her green and palmy isles.
O'er every wide and sunny sea.

And the strong league of mind and power
God's trembling poor no more shall dread,
But sing, with brimming hearts, the hour
When Liberty and Genius wed.

Weep at her labor in the sun,
Nor groan upon her cabin-floor
At nightfall when her toil is done,

Nor Power nor Pride, with iron tread,
Trample upon the weak again,—
Unheard the hungry cry for bread
Among the suffering sons of men.

This age of glory to foretell
'Tis thine—a fitting task sublime;
'Tis thus, with trusting heart, right well
Thou laborest for all coming time.

—H. W. G.

In the Assembly, Col. Munroe of this city—Hunker—has offered a series of Resolutions, which are reported to be in substance as follows:

1st. Deprecates agitation calculated to excite sectional animosities and strifes.

2d. New York stands by the Constitution and its Compromises.

3d. Averse to slavery, as the early patriots north and south were, regrets its existence, and would rejoice to unite in any practicable mode to get rid of it, but no reproaches or denunciations are applied to the slave-holding states, nor will the people be instrumental in instigating the slaves to a servile insurrection or for the abolition of slavery.

4th. Urges the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

5th. Opposes the extension of slavery. Slavery did not exist in the territory acquired by Mexico, and it cannot exist there without an affirmative law.

6th. Physical and legal causes, as well as character of emigrants, will exclude slavery during the existence of territorial organization; and all causes of uneasiness between the north and south in regard to the ultimate existence of slavery there, may be avoided, by referring the subject to the action of the people in the formation of state Constitutions.

7th. Requests the Governor to forward, and the members of Congress to regard these resolutions. Referred to Select Committee.

Editorial Courtesy.—We have seen some rare instances of Editorial courtesy in our day, but the *Tribune*, in a recent number, gives a taste of its quality in this way, which surpasses any exhibition of the sort that we think, we have ever witnessed. The *Evening Post* has made a certain charge—deduced from written words—against the Tribune, the truth of which that paper denies. The *Post* nevertheless reiterates. Whereupon the *Tribune* answers:

You lie, villain! willfully, wickedly, basely lie! The Editor of the Tribune was *never* 'willing to divide the New Territories with the slaveholders' on any terms whatever, and never offered to do anything of the sort. The scanty pretext formerly trumped up by garbling for this calumny has long since been exploded, and whoever now repeats it is an unblushing scoundrel.

If harsh language in the *Liberator* or *Standard* be good argument against Abolition what must we think of Whigism?

For want of room we are disappointed in not being able to lay before our readers, this week, a letter in hand from Our Boston Correspondent "D. Y." as also one from our London Correspondent, A. Tucker, Esq.

New Publications.

Philo: an Evangeliad.

"Margaret," the first work of the Rev. Sylvester Judd, Jr., author of "Philo," is one of the most original books yet written in America. It does not concern us that there are passages in it that recall Ritcher, or Sterne, or whatever other already printed and published individualities. That is a very small and inadequate kind of criticism the whole of which can be absorbed in the consideration of parts, as if one should judge Monadnoc by a single lichen, or question the originality of this American continent because it has plagiarised a few plants and grasses from Europe. One would be inclined to think that the literary world was a community of ants and flies, were he to judge of it by its standards of taste and opinion—of flies and ants, moreover, with personal animosites and resentments. Nevertheless, we seem to detect here a favorable change, for we find criticism confining itself more and more to the printing and paper, matters to which it is possibly more competent. We look foward not unhopefully to the day when books shall be altogether estimated by their outside, and when a jury of binders shall be empanelled to try every new author. Were this the case, we should be sure, at least, of a verdict founded upon definite principles and practical knowledge.

Leaving the outside of "Margaret" to take care of itself, we shall only say that what constituted its true *life* was fresh and new. It was like a new clearing in the woods where the plough is often brought up with a sudden jerk against the snag of a felled tree, and where it is rather rough walking, but all over which native plants are springing up at the call of the unwonted sunshine. The great want that was felt in the book was that of *construction*, a fault which only made it the more strikingly American. In "Philo" we are even more forcibly impressed with the same deficiency. Is it a prejudice learned of Amphion, or is it by a natural instinct that we look to see the material arrange itself more harmoniously at the sound of the lyre?—Musical notes produce certain definite changes in the fibre of substance subjected to their influence. The grain of the wood in violins permits itself to be marshalled and drilled by the singing catgut, as if the trees still kept sacred their traditions of Orpheus. It was fitting enough that "Margaret," a story of humble life in an uncleared country, should be built as it were of green tree-trunks. But a poem is a more consecrated edifice, and finds something nearer its true type in the cathedral than in the loghouse. Especially is this true of a Christian poem such as "Philo." In entering a cathedral we half become Platonists and are wellnigh ready to believe that the great organ is the soul which has compelled the body of stone into such musical proportion. In "Philo" we miss this shaping spirit. Yet this, too, is a sacred building, and we will liken it rather to the rude folds built for their flocks by the early saints out of the wattles or stones lying ready to their hands. Perhaps we may experience here a sense of worship with which the costlier pile of a wealthy and established religion could never bless us.

We have been amused to see the favor with which "Philo," has been received by journals which claim to be the exponents of conservatism. It is as if we saw the discriminating editors down upon their knees puffing the fuse of a bombshell in their own cellars, and with enthusiastic expenditure of breath hastening on an explosion which should send them and theirs spinning into the realm of everlasting Nowhere. A more truly radical book has not been written, nor a more truly conservative, but not in the sense which is generally given to the word by editors. In it the Church, the State, the Press, the Politics, and the Social Life of the country are subjected to the biting test of Christianity. And not only is each brought to judgment, but to condemnation, albeit in a spirit of love and faith which holds out hopes of a final regeneration and reconcilement.

"Philo" is not without its kindly lessons for us Abolitionists also. It is well for us to see the question of the Church mooted by a clergyman. What is worth attacking is worth reforming, especially is it worth looking at from all points of view. We Abolitionists, by dint of gazing constantly in one direction, have contracted what the boys call a *crick* in the neck, so that we cannot turn our heads at all, or at best awkwardly Let us not too hastily take it for granted that the Lyceum and the Lecture have taken the places of Church and Sermon. In "Philo" the pulpit is criticised from the pulpit. Let us confess that if according to the Scotch proverb "hawks winna pike out hawks' een," they will at least sometimes pick away the scales from them.

We have heard it said that "Philo would never have been written had not "Festus" been written before it. Even were it so, we should not regard the objection as of any weight, for if "Festus" be a living poem, it would, like other living things, propagate itself in one way or another. Our older poets used to make it their boast that they were the sons of this or that glorious forerunner But we have been unable to find any lineament of "Festus" in "Philo." Here is no villainous trick of the nether lip to indicate such a paternity. The poem has been put into the form of a dialogue merely because that allowed more scope to the digressive purpose of the writer. It is as purely local [illegible] or of the woods. There are images and phrases in it which could not have been suggested anywhere out of Maine. It is fuller of contemporaneous history than a newspaper, only the "items" let us know how it fares with nature and the soul, and the "leaders" are written with quills of eagle or swan.

An honest book demands above all an honest judgment, and we cannot say that "Philo" is fortunate as a whole. We feel at times that the author lights somewhere short of the height of his great argument. Especially is this true of the conclusion where it seems as if he had grown tired of his work and had drawn the ends suddenly together. We should say that the story was a thread on which fine pearls were hung with irregular intervals of naked string between.

But the book is genuine and sincere. Plants are not all flower, nor trees all fruit. We find passages here of the highest and freshest merit, images as round and crisp and juicy as ripe Baldwin apples. The conceptions, too, are strikingly original. That of the earth-spirit is wonderfully fine. Hitherto we have been treated to bodiless creatures, somewhere between fairies and angels, musical spirits, whose speech sings itself in the highest lyric mood. Mr. Judd has given us something which in previous unsuggestedness may be compared with Caliban. His Spirit of Earth is a grimy, sweaty, swinking fellow, little given to talk, and, when communicative, dealing in the most homespun and abrupt phrase, clearly finding it hard to express himself as yet. He is of the Earth earthy. There is no hunting for poetic diction or imagery here, but something more highly and truly poetical, namely, an unstudied fidelity to the internal fact of the matter. We recognize in its seeming simpleness a great depth of fullness of meaning.

The story of "Philo" may be called that of a spiritual Don Quixote. Cervantes wrote the history of the fleshy Quixote militant, and our author has compiled that of the physical Quixotte triumphant. The operations in the two cases are exactly the reverse of each other. In the one enthusiasm is satirised by being brought into contact with the world of fact and shown to be an anachronism, in the other our society is made ridiculous by assuming the reality to be with the enthusiast.

In conclusion let us hope that we may soon see published those illustrations of [illegible] of which we have heard so much. From the genius of the artist we cannot but believe that they are too excellent to be longer imprisoned in the portfolio.—J. R. L.

FOR sale at this office "Slavery and the Constitution," By Wm. J. Bowditch A most excellent work that ought to be read by all—156 8vo. pages—paper bound. The subjects treated of are arranged as follows:—"Slavery Agreeable to God's Providence; Direct Mental Instruction of Slaves; Moral and Religious Condition of the Slaves; Moral and Religious Teachers of the Slaves; Direct Religious Instruction of Slaves; Indirect Instruction.—No Legal Marriage of Slaves; "Soul-Driving;" "Domestic Slave-Trade;" Runaway Slaves; Slaveholding always Wrong; The Constitution and its Interpretation; The Constitution according to the Common Meaning of its Terms; The Constitution as its Framers Intended to make it; The Constitution according to the Practice of the Government; The Constitution according to the Exposition of its final Interpreter; No Union with Slaveholders.—Price only 25 cts.

We have also for sale "Daniel Foster's Address on Slavery," delivered at Danvers, Mass. Sept. 23d.—Price 12 1-2 cts.

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Miscellany.

THE MARRIED AND MAIDEN LIFE OF MARY POWELL.

(CONCLUDED.)

April, 1646.—Can aniething equall ye desperate ingratitude of the human heart? Testifie of it, journall, agaynst me. Here did I, throughout the incessant cares and anxieties of Robin's sicknesse, find, or make time, for almoste dailie record of my trouble; since which, whole months have passed without soe much as a scrawled ejaculation of thankfullenesse that ye sick hath beene made whole.

Yet, not that that thankfullnesse hath beene unfelt, nor, though unwritten, unexprest. Nay, O Lord, deeplie, deeplie, have I thanked thee for thy tender mercies. And he healed soe slowlie, that suspense, as 't were, wore itself out, and gave place to a dull, mournful persuasion that an hydropsia would waste him away, though more slowlie, yet noe less surelie than the fever.

Soe weeks lengthened into months, I mighte well say years, they seemed soe long! and stille he seemed to neede more care and tenderness; till, just as he and I had learnt to say, "Thy will, O Lord, be done," he began to gain flesh, his craving appetite moderated, yet his food nourished him, and by God's blessing he recovered!

During that heavie season of probation, our hearts were unlocked, and we spake oft to one another of things in heaven and things in earth. Afterwards, our mutuall reserves returned, and Robin, methinks, became shyer than before, but there can never cease to be a dearer bond between us. Now we are apart, I am to keep him mindfulle of the high and holie resolutions he formed in his sicknesse; and though he never answers these portions of my letters, I am avised to think he finds them not displeasing.

Now that Oxford is like to be besieged, my life is more confined than ever; yet I cannot and will not leave father and mother, even for the Agnews, while they are soe much harrassed. This morning, my father hath received a letter from Sir Thomas Glemham, requiring a larger quantitie of winnowed wheat, than, with alle his loyaltie, he likes to send.

23d.—Ralph Hewlett hath just looked in to say, his father and mother have in safetie reached London, where he will shortlie joyn them, and to ask, is there anie service he can do me? Ay, truly: one that I dare not name—he can bring me word of Mr. Milton, of his health, of his looks, of his speech, and whether * * * *

Ralph shall be noe messenger of mine.

24th.—Talking of money matters this morning, mother sayd something that brought tears into mine eyes. She observed, that though my husband had never beene a favorite of hers, there was one thing wherein she must say he had behaved generously: he had never, to this day, askt father for ye 500*l*. which had brought him, in ye first instance, to Forest Hill, (he having promised old Mr. Milton to try to get ye debt paid,) and the which, on his asking for my hand, father tolde him shoulde be made over sooner or later, in lieu of dower.

Did Rose know ye bitter-sweet she was imparting to me, when she gave me, by stealth as 't were ye latelie publisht volume of my husband's English versing? It hath beene my companion ever since; for I had perused ye Comus but by snatches under ye disadvantage of crabbed manuscript. This morning, to use his owne deare words:—

I sat me down to watch, upon a bank,
With ivy canopied, and interwove
With flaunting honeysuckle, and beganne,
Wrapt in a pleasing fit of melancholie,
To meditate.

The text of my meditation was this, drawne from ye same loved source:—

This I hold firm:
Virtue may be assayled, but never hurt,
Surprised by unjust force, but not enthralled:
Yea, even that which Mischief meant most harm,
Shall in ye happy trial, prove most glory.

But who hath such virtue? have I? hath he?—No, we have both gone astray, and amiss, and wrought sinfullie; but I worst, I first, therefore more neede that I humble myself, and pray for both.

There is one, more unhappie, perhaps, than either. The king, most unfortunate gentleman! who knoweth not which way to turn, nor whom to trust. Last time I saw him, methought never was there a face soe full of woe.

May 6th.—The king hath escaped! He gave orders overnight at alle ye gates, for three persons to passe; and, accompanied onlie by Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Hurd, rode forthe at nightfalle, towards London. Sure, he will not throw himselfe into ye hands of parliament!

Mother is affrighted beyond measure at ye near neighborhood of Fairfax's army, and entreats father to leave alle behind, and flee with us into ye city—It may yet be done; and we alle share her feares.

Saturday even.—Packing up in greate haste, after a confused family council, wherein some fresh accounts of ye rebels' advances, broughte in by Diggory, made my father ye sooner consent to a stolen flight into Oxford, Diggory being left behind in charge. Time of flight, to-morrow after dark, ye Puritans being busie at theire sermons. The better the day, the better the deede. Heaven make it soe.

Tuesday.—Oxford: in most confined and unpleasant lodgings; but noe matter, manie better and richer than ourselves fare worse, and our king hath not where to lay his head. 'T is sayd he hath turned his course towards Scotland. There are souldiers in this house, whose noise distracts us. Alsoe, a poore widow lady, whose husband hath beene slayn in these wars. The children have taken a feverish complaynt, and require incessant tending. Theire beds are far from cleane, in too little space, and ill aired.

May 20th.—The widow lady goes about visiting the sick, and would fain have my companie. The streets have displeased me, being soe fulle of men; however, in a close hoode I have accompanied her sundrie times. 'T is a good soul, and fulle of pious works and alms-deedes.

27th.—Diggory hath found his way to us, alle dismaied, and bringing dismay with him, for ye rebels have taken and ransacked our house, and turned him forthe. "A plague on these wars!" as father says. What are we to doe, or how live, desployed of alle? Father hath lost, one way and another, since ye civil war broke out, three thousand pounds, and is now nearlie beggared. Mother weeps bitterlie, and father's countenance hath fallen more than ever I saw it before. "Nine children!" he exclaimed, just now; "and onlie one provided for!" His eye fell upon me for a moment, with less tendernesse than usuall, as though he wished me in Aldersgate Street. I'm sure I wish I were there,—not because father is in misfortune; oh, no.

June.—The Parliament requireth our unfortunate King to issue orders to this and alle his other garrisons, commanding theire surrender; and father finding this is likelie to take place forthwith [illegible] having himself comprised within ye articles of surrender. 'T will be hard indeede shoulde this be denied. His estate lying in ye King's quarters, how coulde he doe less than add here to his My's partie during this unnaturall war; I am sure mother grudged ye royalists everie goose and turkey they had from our yard.

27th.—Praised be Heaven, deare father hath just received Sir Thomas Fairfax's protection, empowering him quietlie and without let to goe forthe "with servants horses, arms, goods, etc." to "London or elsewhere," whithersoever he will. And though ye protection extends but over six months, at ye expiry of which time, father must take measures to embark for some place of refuge beyond seas, yet who knows what may turn up in those six months! The King may enjoy his owner agayn. Meantime, we immediately leave Oxford.

Forest Hill.—At home agayn; and what a home! Everiething to seeke, everiething misplaced, broken, abused, or gone altogether! The gate off its hinges; ye stone balls of ye pillars overthrowne, ye great bell stolen, the clipt junipers grubbed up, the sundiall broken! Not a hen or chicken, duck or duckling, left! Crab half-starved, and soe glad to see us, that he dragged his kennel after him. Daisy and Blanch making such piteous moans at ye paddock gate, that I coulde not bear it, but helped Lettice to milk them. Within doors, everie room smelling of beer and tobacco; cupboards broken open, etc. On my chamber floor, a greasy steeple-crowned hat! Threw it forthe from the window with a pair of tongs.

Mother goes about ye house weeping. Father sits in his broken arm-chair, ye picture of disconsolateness. I see the Agnews, true friends! riding hither; and with them a third, who, methinks, is Rose's brother Ralph.

LONDON.

St. Martin's le Grand.—Trembling, weeping, hopefulle, dismaied, here I sit in mine uncle's hired house, alone in a crowd, scared at mine owne precipitation, readie to wish myself back, unable to resolve, to reflect, to pray. * * *

Twelve at night. Alle is silent; even in ye latelie busie streets. Why art thou cast down, my heart? why are thou disquieted within me? Hope thou stille in ye Lord, for he is the joy and light of thy countenance. Thou hast beene long of learning him to be such. Oh, forget not thy lesson now! Thy best friend hath sanctioned, nay, counselled this step, and overcome alle obstacles, and provided the means of this journey; and to-morrow at noone, if events prove not cross, I shall have speech of him whom my soul loveth. To-night, let me watch, fast, and pray.

Friday; at night.—How awfulle it is to beholde a man weepe! mine owne tears, when I think thereon, well forthe * * *

Rose was a true friend when she sayd "our prompt affections are oft our wise counsellors." Soe, she suggested and advised alle; wrung forthe my father's consent, and sett me on my way, even putting money in my purse. Well for me, had she beene at my journey's end as well as its beginning.

'Stead of which, here was onlie mine aunt; a slow, timid, uncertayn soule, who proved but a broken reed to lean upon.

Soe, all I woulde have done arighte went crosse, the letter never delivered, ye message delayed till he had left home, soe that methought I should goe crazie.

While the boy, stammering in his lame excuses, bore my chafed reproaches ye more humblie because he saw he had done me some grievous hurt, though he knew not what, a voice in ye adjacent chamber in altercation with mine Uncle's, drove the blood of a sudden from mine heart, and then sent it back with impetuous rush, for I knew the accents right well.

Enters mine Aunt, all flurried, and hushing her voice. "Oh, niece, he whom you wot of is here, but knoweth not you are at hand, nor in London. Shall I tell him?

But I gasped, and held her by her skirts; then, with a suddain secret prayer, or cry, or maybe, wish, as 'twere, darted up unto heaven for assistance, I took noe thought what I shoulde speak when confronted with him, but opening ye door between us, he then standing with his back towards it, rushed forth and to his feet—there sank, in a gush of tears; for not one word coulde I proffer, nor soe much as look up.

A quick hand was laid on my head, and on my shoulder—as quicklie removed * * * * and I was aware of the door being hurriedly opened and shut, and a man hasting forthe; but 't was onlie mine uncle. Meantime, my husband, who had at first uttered a suddain cry or exclamation, had now left me, sunk on ye ground as I was, and retired a space, I know not whither, but methinks he walked hastilie to and fro. Thus I remained, agonized in tears, unable to recall one word of ye humble appeal I had pondered on my journey, or to have spoken it, though I had down everie syllable by rote; yet not wishing myself, even in that suspense, shame, and anguish, elsewhere than where I was cast, at mine husbands feet.

Or ever I was aware, he had come up, and caught me to his breast; then, holding me back soe as to look me in ye face, sayd, in accents I shall never forget,

"Much I coulde say to reproach, but will not! Henceforth, let us onlie recall this darke passage of our deeplie sinfulle lives, to quicken us to God's mercy in affording us this re-union. Let it deepen our penitence, enhance our gratitude."

Then, suddainlie covering up his face with his hands, he gave two or three sobs; and for some few minutes coulde not refrayn himself; but, when at length he uncovered his eyes and looked down on me with goodness and sweetnesse, 'twas like the sun's cleare shining after raine. * * *

Shall I now destroy ye disgracefulle records of this blotted book? I think not; for 'twill quicken me perhaps, as my husband sayth, to "deeper penitence and stronger gratitude," shoulde I henceforthe be in danger of settling on ye lees, and forgetting ye deepe waters which had nearlie closed over mine head. At present, I am soe joyfulle, soe light of heart under ye sense of forgiveness, that it seemeth as though sorrow coulde lay hold of me noe more; and yet we are still, as 'twere, disunited for awhile; for my husband is agayn shifting house, and preparing to remove his increased establishment into Barbican, where he hath taken a goodly mansion; and, until it is ready, I am to abide here. I might pleasantlie cavill at this; but, in truth, will cavill at nothing now.

I am, by this, full persuaded that Ralph's tale concerning Miss Davies was a false lie; though, at ye time, supposing it to have some color, it inflamed my jealousie noe little. The cross spright of that youth led, under his sister's management, to an issue his malice never forecast; and now, though I might come at ye truth for inquiry, I will not soe much as even soil my mind with thinkiug of it agayn; for there is that truth in mine husband's eyes, which woulde silence ye slanders of a hundred liars. Chafed, irritated, he has beene, soe as to excite the sarcastic constructions of those who wished him evil; but his soul, and his heart, and his mind require a flighte beyond Ralph's witt to comprehende; and I know and feel that they are *mine*.

He hath just led in the two Phillips' to me, and left us together. Jack lookt at me askance, and held aloof; but deare little Ned threw his arms about me and wept, and I did weep too; seeing the which, Jack advanced, gave me his hand, and finally his lips then lookt as much as to say, "Now, alle's right." They are grown, and are more comely than heretofore, which in some measure, is owing to theire hair being noe longer cut strait and short after ye Puritanicall fashion I soe hate, but curled like their uncle's.

I have writ, not ye particulars, but ye issue of my journey, unto Rose, whose loving heart, I know, yearns for tidings. Alsoe, more brieflie unto my mother, who loveth not Mr. Milton.

BARBICAN.

September.—In ye night season, we take noe rest; we search out our hearts, and commune with our spiritts, and checque our souls' accounts, before we dare court our sleep; but in ye day of happinesse we cut shorte our reckonings; and here am I, a joyfulle wife, too proud and busie amid my dailie cares to have leisure for more than a brief note in my *Diarium*, as Ned woulde call it. 'Tis a large house, with more rooms than we can fill, even with the Phillips' and their scholar-mates, olde Milton, and my husband's books to boot. I feel pleasure in being housewifelie; and reape the benefit of alle that I learnt of this sorte at Sheepscote. Mine husband's eyes follow me with delight; and once with a perplexed yet pleased smile, he sayd to me, "Sweet [illegible] altered; it seems as though I have indeede lost 'sweet Moll' after alle!"

Yes, I am indeed changed; more than he knows or coulde believe. And he is changed too. With payn I perceive a more stern, severe tone occasionallie used by him; doubtlesse the cloke assumed by his griefe to hide the ruin I had made within. Yet a more geniall influence is fast melting this away. Agayn, I note with payn that he complayns much of his eyes. At first, I observed he rubbed them oft, and dared not mention it, believing that his tears on account of me, sinfulle soul! had made them smart.

Soe, perhaps, they did in ye first instance, for it appears they have beene ailing ever since ye year I left him; and over-study, which mighte have prevented, hath conduced to ye same ill effect. Whenever he now looks at a lighted candle, he sees a sort of iris alle about it; and, this morning, he disturbed me by mentioning that a total darknesse obscured everie thing on ye left side of his eye, and that he even feared, sometimes, he might eventvallie lose ye sight of both. "In which case," he cheerfully sayd, "you, deare wife, must become my lecturer as well as amanuensis, and content yourself to read to me a world of crabbed books, in tongues that are not nor neede ever be yours, seeing that a woman has ever enough of her own!"

Then, more pensivelie, he added, "I discipline and tranquilize my mind on this subject, ever remembering, when the apprehension afflicts me, that, as man lives not by bread alone, but by everie word that proceeds out of the mouth of God, so man likewise lives not by *sight* alone, but by faith in the giver of sight. As long, therefore, as it shall please Him to prolong, however imperfectlie, this precious gift, soe long will I lay up store agaynst the days of darkenesse, which may be many; and whensoever it shall please Him to withdraw it from me altogether, I will cheerfully bid mine eyes keep holiday, and place my hand trustfullie in His, to be led whithersoever He will, through the remainder of life."

MAHOMET:

HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

BY WASHINGTON IRVING.

MAHOMET, according to accounts, handed down by tradition from his contemporaries, was of the middle stature, square built and sinewy, with large hands and feet. In his youth he was uncommonly strong and vigorous; in the latter part of his life he inclined to corpulency. His head was capacious, well-shaped and well-set on a neck which rose like a pillar from his ample chest. His forehead was high, broad at the temples, and crossed by veins extending down to the eyebrows which swelled whenever he was angry or excited. He had an oval face, marked and expressive features, and an aquilne nose, black eyes, arched eyebrows which nearly met, a mouth large and flexible, indicative of eloquence, very white teeth, somewhat parted and irregular; black hair which waved without a curl on his shoulders, and a long and very full beard.

His deportment, in general, was calm and equable; he sometimes indulged in pleasantry, but more commonly was grave and dignified, though he is said to have possessed a smile of captivating sweetness. His complexion was more ruddy than is usual with Arabs, and in his excited and enthusiastic moments there was a glow and radiance in his countenance, which his disciples magnified into the supernatural light of prophecy.

His intellectual qualities were undoubtedly of an extraordinary kind. He had a quick apprehension, a retentive memory, a vivid imagination, and an inventive genius. Owing but to little education, he quickened and informed his mind by close observation, and stored it with a great variety of knowledge concerning the systems of religion current in his day, or handed down by tradition from antiquity. His ordinary discourse was grave and sententious, abounding with those aphorisms and apologies so popular among the Arabs; at times he was excited and eloquent, and his eloquence was aided by a voice musical and sonorous.

He was sober and abstemious in his diet, and a rigorous observer of fasts. He indulged in no magnificence of apparel, the ostentation of a petty mind; neither was his simplicity in dress affected, but the result of a real disregard to distinction from so trivial a source. His garments were sometimes of wool; sometimes of the striped cotton of Yemen, and were often patched. He wore a turban, for he said turbans were worn by the angels; and in arranging it he let one end hang down between his shoulders, which he said was the way they wore it. He forbade the wearing of clothes entirely of silk; but permitted a mixture of thread and silk. He forbade also red clothes and the use of gold rings. He wore a seal ring of silver, the engraved part under his finger close to the palm of his hand, bearing the inscription "Mahomet the messenger of God." He was scrupulous as to personal cleanliness, and observed frequent ablutions. In some respects he was a voluptuary. "There are two things in this world." would he say, "which delight me, women and perfumes. These two things rejoice my eyes, and render me more fervent in devotion." From his extreme cleanliness, and the use of perfumes and of sweet-scented oil for his hair, probably arose that sweetness and fragrance of person, which his disciples considered innate and miraculous. His passion for the sex had an influence over all his affairs. It is said that when in the presence of a beautiful female, he was continually smoothing his brow and adjusting his hair, as if anxious to appear to advantage.

The number of his wives is uncertain. Abulfeda, who writes with more caution than other of the Arabian historians, limits it to fifteen, though some make it as much as twenty-five. At the time of his death he had nine, each in separate dwelling, and all in the vicinity of the mosque at Medina. The plea for his indulging in a greater number of wives than he permitted to his followers, was a desire to beget a race of prophets for his people. If such indeed were his desire, it was disappointed. Of all his children, Fatima, the wife of Ali, alone survived him and she died within a short time after his death. Of all her descendants, none excepting her eldest son Hassan ever sat on the throne of the Caliphs.

In his private dealings he was just. He treated friends and strangers, rich and poor, the powerful and the weak, with equity, and was beloved by the common people for the affability with which he received them and listened to their complaints.

He was naturally irritable, but had brought his temper under great control, so that even in the self-indulgent intercourse of domestic life he was kind and tolerant. "I served him from the time I was eight years old," said his servant Anas, "and he never scolded me for anything, though things were spoiled by me."

The question now occurs, was he the unprincipled impostor that he has been represented? Were all his visions and revelations deliberate falsehoods, and was his whole system a tissue of deceit? In considering this question we must bear in mind that he is not chargeable with many extravagances which exist in his name. Many of the visions and revelations handed down as having been given by him are spurious. The miracles ascribed to him are all fabrications of Moslem zealots. He expressly and repeatedly disclaimed all miracles excepting the Koran; which, considering its incomparable merit, and the way in which it had come down to him from Heaven, he pronounced the greatest of miracles. And here we must indulge a few observations on this famous document. While zealous Moslems and some of the most learned doctors of the faith draw proofs of its divine origin from the inimitable excellence of its style and composition, and the avowed illiteracy of Mahomet; less devout critics have pronounced it a chaos of beauties and defects; without method or arrangement; full of obscurities, incoherencies, repetitions, false versions of scriptural stories, and direct contradictions. The truth is, that the Koran, as it now exists, is not the same Koran delivered by Mahomet to his disciples, but has undergone many corruptions and interpolations. The revelations contained in it were given at various times, in various places, and before various persons; sometimes they were taken down by his secretaries or disciples on parchment, on palm-leaves, or the shoulder-blades of sheep, and thrown together in a chest, of which one of his wives had charge; sometimes they were merely treasured up in the memories of those who heard them. No care appears to have been taken to systematize and arrange them during his life; and at his death they remained in scattered fragments, many of them at the mercy of fallacious memories. It was not until several years after his death, that Abu Beker undertook to have them gathered together and transcribed. Reid Ibn Thabet, who had been one of the secretaries of Mahomet, was employed for the purpose. He professed to know many parts of the Koran by heart, having written them down under the direction of the prophet; other parts he collected piecemeal from various hands, written down in the rude way we have mentioned; and many parts he took down as repeated to him by various disciples who professed to have heard them uttered by the prophet himself. The heterogeneous fragments thus collected were thrown together without selection, without chronological order, and without system of any kind. The volume thus formed during the Caliphat of Abu Beker, was transcribed by different hands, and many professed copies put in circulation and dispersed throughout the Moslem cities. So many errors, interpolations, and contradictory readings, soon crept into these copies, that Othman, the third Caliph, called in the various manuscripts, and formed what he pronounced the genuine Koran, caused all the others to be destroyed.

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If we are far from considering Mahomet the gross and impious imposter that some have represented him, so also are we indisposed to give him credit for that vast forecast, and for that deeply concerted scheme of universal conquest which have been ascribed to him. He was, undoubtedly, a man of great genius and a suggestive imagination, but it appears to us that he was, in a great degree, the creature of impulse and excitement, and very much at the mercy of circumstances. His schemes grew out of his fortunes, and not his fortunes out of his schemes. He was forty years of age before he first broached his doctrines. He suffered year after year to steal away before he promulgated them out of his own family. When he fled from Mecca, thirteen years had elapsed from the announcement of his his mission, and from being a wealthy merchant he had sunk to be a ruined fugitive. When he reached Medina, he had no idea of the power that awaited him; his only thought was to build a humble mosque where he might preach, and his only hope that he might be suffered to preach with impunity. When power suddenly broke upon him, he used it for a time in petty forays and local feuds. His military plans expanded with his resources, but were by no means masterly, and were sometimes unsuccessful. They were not struck out with boldness, nor executed with decision; but were often changed in deference to the opinions of warlike men about him, and sometimes at the suggestion of inferior minds, who occasionally led him wrong. Had he, indeed, conceived from the outset, the idea of binding up the scattered and conflicting tribes of Arabia into one nation by a *brotherhood of faith*, for the purpose of carrying out a scheme of external conquest, he would have been one of the first of military projectors; but the idea of extended conquest seems to have been an after-thought, produced by success. The moment he proclaimed the religion of the sword, and gave the predatory Arabs a taste of foreign plunder, that moment he was launched in a career of conquest, which carried him forward with his own irresistible impetus. The fanatic zeal with which he had inspired his followers, did more for his success than his military science; their belief in his doctrine of predestination produced victories which no military calculation could have anticipated. In his dubious outset as a prophet, he had been encouraged by the crafty counsels of his Scriptural oracle, Waraka; in his career as a conqueror, he had Omar, Khaled, and other fiery spirits by his side to urge him on, and to aid him in managing the tremendous power which he had evoked into action. Even with all their aid, he had occasionally to avail himself of his supernatural machinery as a prophet, and in so doing may have reconciled himself to the fraud by considering the pious end to be obtained.

His military triumphs awakened no pride nor vain glory, as they would have done, had they been effected for selfish purposes. In the time of his greatest power, he maintained the same simplicity of manners and appearance as in the days of his adversity. So far from affecting regal state, he was displeased if, on entering a room, any unusual testimonials of respect were shown him. If he aimed at universal dominion, it was the dominion of faith; as to the temporal rule which grew up in his hands, as he used it without ostentation, so he took no step to perpetuate it in his family.

The riches which poured in upon him from tribute and the spoils of war, were expended in promoting the victories of faith, and in relieving the poor aomng its votaries, insomuch that the treasury was often drained of its last coin. Omar Ibn Al Hareth declares that Mahomet, at his death, did not leave a golden dinar nor a silver dirhem, a slave nor a slave girl, nor anything but his grey mule Daldal, his arms, and the ground which he bestowed upon his wives, his children and the poor. "Allah," says an Arabian writer, "offered him the keys of all the treasures of the earth, but he refused to accept them."

It is this perfect abnegation of self, connected with his apparently heartfelt piety, running throughout the various phases of his fortune, which perplex one in forming a just estimate of Mahomet's character. However he betrayed the alloy of earth after he had worldly power at his command, the early aspirations of his spirit continually returned and bore him above all earthly things. Prayer, the vital duty of Islamism, and that infallible purifier of the soul, was his constant preacher. "Trust in God" was his comfort and support in times of trial and despondency. On the clemency of God we are told he reposed all his hopes of supernal happiness.—Ayesha relates that on one occasion she inquired of him: "Oh, prophet, does no one enter Paradise but through God's mercy?" "None—none—none!" rdplied he with emphatic repetition. "But you, oh, prophet, will not *you* enter excepting through His compassion?" Then Mahomet put his hand upon his head, and replied three times, with great solemnity, "Neither shall I enter Paradise unless God cover me with His mercy!"

When he hung over the death-bed of his infant so Ibrahim, resignation to the will of God was exhibited in his conduct under his keenest of afflictions, and the hope of soon rejoining his child in Paradise was his consolation. When he followed him to the grave, he invoked his spirit in the awful examination of the tomb, to hold fast to the foundations of the faith, the unity of God, and his own mission as a prophet. Even in his own dying hour, where there could be no longer a wordly motive for deceit he still breathed the same religious devotion, and the same belief in his apostolic mission. The last words that trembled on his lips ejaculated a trust of soon entering into blissful companionship with the prophets who had gone before him.

It is difficult to reconcile such ardent, persevering piety, with an incessant system of blasphemous imposture; nor such pure and elevated and benignant precepts as are contained in the Koran, with a mind haunted by ignoble passions, and devoted to the grovelling interests of mere mortality; and we find no other satisfactory mode of solving the enigma of his character and conduct, than by supposing that the way of mental hallucination which flashed upon his enthusiastic spirit during his religious ecstacies in the midnight cavern of Mt. Hara, continued more or less to bewilder him with a species of monomania to the end of his career, and he died in the delusive belief of his mission as a prophet

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THE MECHANIC'S WIFE.

BY MARY LEMAN GILLIES.

"Shall you be very late to-night?". This question was asked in a soft low voice by a very pale, but very sweet young creature, as she parted from her husband in the street.

"I do not know that I shall," he replied, somewhat coldly, as replacing his segar between his lips, he turned away. There was carelessness rather than unkindness in his manner, and she looked after him more in sorrow than reproach. Taking the hand of her little boy, she slowly bent her steps homeward, with that drooping of the head which bespeaks sadness of heart. It was Saturday night; she had been marketing, and her little purchases were contained in a basket which hung upon her arm. On reaching home, the very uppermost floor of a house in a poor but decent neighborhood, she roused the fire, seated Philip, her little son, beside it, gave him a piece of bread and butter for his supper, and began to busy herself in putting away the few necessaries she had bought. By the time this was done, the drooping head of little Philip told her he was ready for his pillow. How tenderly he was taken to his lonely mother's lap—his pretty face washed—his bright hair brushed, and he arrayed in his snowy bed-gown. Pressed to her bosom, she warmed his little feet, her fond hand returning to them again and again from the fire, to which she every now and then held her open palm, then pressing the soft foot, she kissed it playfully, and provoked the laughter so sweet to a mother's ear. These were Philip's first charming lessons; thus were gentleness and love awakened in his infant spirit by his capable, but uninstructed, unassisted mother. How full of meaning was his smile—how full of animation! and when, kneeling in her lap, she joined his little hands, and bade him ask his Heavenly Father to bless his earthly parent, how sympathetically he caught the sweetly-serious look—the calm and holy tone of his instructress. When his little prayer was said, [illegible] his arms about her neck, and cheek to cheek they murmured together the lulling song which concluded this little drama; for his eyes slowly closed, and the smile softly passed from his face, and then he was gently consigned to his snug and snowy bed.

So far all was sweet; would it might be said all was calm; but the aching void in Susan's heart was not calmness, it was rather a craving for that mental and social aliment which is a necessity of every breast, and cannot long be healthily denied to any. The more energetic spirits seek such associations or stimulants as chance presents them; the gentler submit and suffer, often perish, in silence.

Susan put a little fuel softly on the fire, trimmed her candle, and sat down with the zealous lonely woman's usual companion—her work-basket. A deep sigh stole from her bosom. Still the ceaseless needle was plied. Now and then she paused—it was to wipe away the tears that *would* gather on her lashes. She was just two and twenty, and had been four years married, during all which time, with the brief exception of a few weeks previous to their settlement in town, she had thus been left night after night in loneliness. Philip Morris, her husband, was an honest, industrious man, with a hundred good qualities; sober, and solicitous of securing to his family all the comforts his means afforded, he brought his weekly earnings, with a very small reservation for some trifling indulgences for himself, to his wife, and, with the utmost trust in her management and economy, left them to her disposal. But while thus trusting and liberal, he seemed to consider that he acquitted himself of all that Susan might demand of him. While he sought improvement for himself, it never occurred to him it was her equal right—would be to her an equal advantage; while he sought the interchange of thought with other minds, he never reflected on the utter privation he had entailed on her. He had taken her from the home of her father, a small farmer, where her mother, a painstaking woman, had brought up Susan and several brothers and sisters, for their station, remarkably well.

Her father's heart was one overflowing with the milk of human kindness; and thus aided by the cheerful spirits of their cherished children, a moral sunshine had ever lighted up that lowly home, and given it a thousand claims upon her love and memory. At moments Susan would look back on the brief time that had been employed to woo her from it, as a dream: the whispered words of love—the promises of devotion—of endeavors for her happiness—the mighty city in which she was to dwell (which now appeared to her a maze of mud and stone, ill exchanged for the daisied fields, with their sweet breath and bright atmosphere)—had all tended to an undefinable disappointment; yet, in the innocent ignorance of her heart, she could scarcely have stated of what she had to complain. She loved her husband; she was proud of his superior abilities; and made no mean estimate of his character, undebased in the slightest degree by the gross vices which, secluded as was her life, she could not but perceive marked many around her, subjecting their wives to brutality and privation. Compared with such offenses, she persuaded herself that Philip's neglect was a very light and venial fault, and blamed herself for feeling it so much. But Susan was one of those flowers of humanity that would have amply repaid cultivation, and that needed the sunshine of sympathetic kindness, the air of the social atmosphere, to keep them in health and life. Daily food was scarcely more necessary to her physical nature than the interchange of thought and kindliness was to her spiritual nature: all this her husband's habits, and the unsociable plans of life in England, especially in London, denied her. It is true, except morally, she was uncultivated, but she had talent and temperament that would soon have repaid a little kindly care. Too timid, too ignorant, to plead her own cause, or urge her claims to him who had precluded appeal to all others, she uncomplainingly lived on without change, without stimulus, or excitement; shut up within the four walls of her humble home, walking unrelieved the dull unvarying round of her domestic duties with her spirit full of capabilities unexplored and unexpanded. She grew nervous and hectic, her appetite and spirits failed, her frame wasted; while, quiet and unrepining, almost herself unconscious of her malady or its cause, consumption was rapidly developed. She was deemed delicate; medical advice was sought, and medicine and care essayed, while none guessed the quick current of feeling that flowed beneath the quiet bearing of that subdued, decaying woman; it wore the channel through which it made its secret way, but seemed to brighten the spirit it was soon to extinguish.

Susan, after a time, felt that she was passing through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. This conviction did not depress her energies—it awakened them. She had communed with her own meek heart, lifted it to her mighty Maker, and remembered with consolation that it is said, "Those also serve who only stand and wait." She struggled on from day to day in the performance of her duties, amid many privations, the worst of all privation, that of all mental development and social cheer; yet had she a conscious account in her own heart, and her sincere and unassisted endeavor had no doubt a register among the higher achievements of more favored minds. With the certainty that she was not long for this scene, she redoubled her exertions to put her little household in order. She repaired and made clothes for her child, and, as she laid them away, embalmed them with her tears. In the same manner her needle toiled for her husband, and the savings which her frugality effected were employed to purchase him sundry little comforts.

"These will keep *him* warm when I am cold," she thought; "he will little think that while *he* forgot me, for better company 'tis true *my* only happiness was to remember *him*, and that I shall scarcely be more solitary in the grave to which I am going, than I have been in the home to which he brought me."

Sometimes a little ink-bottle was taken from the mantel-shelf, and a sheet of paper from her little table drawer, and then, with effort, a few lines were traced, and the paper hidden carefully away, as if she had committed a crime. One night she had made more endeavor of this kind than usual, and the struggling unassisted spirit of intelligence was burning in her bright hazel eye, and glowing on her beautiful cheek, when she was startled by an unusual noise. The paper was hurried into the drawer, the ink-bottle restored to the shelf, and taking the candle, she went out to the landing-place. She beheld her husband, assisted by two men, slowly ascending the stairs. He had met with an accident; had broken his arm—it had been set—he had fainted during the operation—and, with the ghastliness of aspect incident to such circumstances, he appeared before her.

This event prostrated Phillip Morris for some time, during which Susan nursed him with unremitting care. It was long before he was able to return to work, but his employers were liberal and considerate, and did not forget in his weakness the man who had toiled for their advantage in his days of health and strength. But though unable to pursue his manual labors, Phillip Morris soon made an effort to get abroad in search of mental occupation and social enjoyment. He went to his club, to the Mechanics' Institute, to the coffee-shops where he could find the best selected books and the most newspapers. All this was well done; he nobly determined to rescue himself from becoming the mere machine of toil, the drudge of so much "trash as be grasped thus." Alas! had he but thought of *her* whom he had promised to love and cherish till death should part them—had he considered whether *she* had not a soul of equal value with his own, perhaps an intellect as capable of repaying culture—then had he been twice blessed—blessed in the act and its reaction. But selfishly devoted to his own objects of pursuit, habituated to the wan looks of his quiet wife, he failed to perceive that her cheek grew paler, and her voice weaker; not that he had been insensible or indifferent to her care and anxiety during his illness; but with renovated health he returned to his old habits, and accustomed to receive sacrifices without making any, he sinned against gratitude and good feeling almost unconsciously. Gradually Susan found herself unequal to even the daily walk with little Philip, or the effort of going up and down stairs, and there was some talk of her returning home for a time, and trying the effects of her native air. She smiled feebly as this was spoken of, yet left unattempted; she knew that she was going to a further and a better home, and often did she say as much; but she was not eloquent of words, nor sufficiently strong in spirits, and after two or three fruitless attempts she desisted, and pursued, as far as she was able, the even tenor of her way.

Philip Morris recovered his health, and was restored to work and full wages; again he talked of the country for Susan, and insisted on her trying a new doctor; he sought to tempt her appetite by such rarities as he could afford, but still he could not resign his own peculiar habits and enjoyment, and among the evils these entailed were late hours. One night he returned home, as usual, about midnight, when on opening the room door, instead of the small bright fire, the trimmed candle, and the pale, patient worker he was accustomed to behold, all was darkness and silence. He paused a moment—an indescribable sensation of cold crept over his frame; and fear, like a paralysis, invaded his heart. At length he exclaimed, "Susan, Susan, my dear." There was no reply: he stepped further into the room: he repeated her name yet louder, all was still. He groped his way to the fire-place: on the mantel-shelf he found a box of lucifer matches, obtained a light, and lighted a candle. He now beheld Susan, with her hand resting on the table, seated in her usual place. He approached and took her hand. O heavens! its icy coldness! He flung himself on his knees on the floor, and looked up into her face; there was a sweet, placid smile upon the lips, for a forgiving, gentle spirit had passed from them, but the eyes were fixed and filmed: Susan was dead—had been dead some hours. The distracted man rushed down stairs, alarmed all the inmates of the house as he passed: a medical man was soon present, and the chamber in which that young creature had almost lived and died alone, was thronged by a crowd, any one of whom, inspired by a better social system, would willingly have sustained her to a longer life, or cheered the brief time that had been allotted her. All were horror-struck, and one heart-struck; particularly when the child, awakened by the tumult, scrambled out of his little bed, and rushed for protection to his lifeless mother. Not even that voice, eloquent as it had ever been to her, could waken her again! The surgeon declared that her death had been sudden, and from natural causes, but that it was a case which demanded an inquest.

An inquest was held. Among the evidence produced was a singularly affecting memorial; it was the little journal which Susan had for some time kept like the poor dungeon prisoner who daily notches a stick that he may be able to number the monotonous days of his captivity. The angel of death had arrested her hand just as it had feebly traced the following words:—

"It will not be long now, my child, my poor little Philip. He who calls away your mother will care for *you!* Philip Morris, my husband, my *dear* husband, I wish you were beside me now. You have been good and kind, and generous, and I was not the wife you should have had. Be a kind father to our child when I am gone. You will—yes, surely, you will one day take another wife. That which you never gave to *me*, give to her—your society, your counsel. If she has been untaught, teach her; at least do not leave her to continual loneliness. You never knew it, and therefore cannot tell how sad the long dull hours"—

As the reading of this little paper proceeded, Philip Morris struck his heart as if he thought to crush it within his breast. That heart had not been fashioned for severity or unkindness: on the contrary much that was mild and generous mingled in its formation, but the second nature, induced by habit, had incrusted his original feelings and faculties; he had grown up to regard women as the mere machines of domestic life, with neither necessity nor capability for higher things, and which to "spirits masculine," he deemed so essential that he made much sacrifice to secure cultivation for himself. Too late, conviction had dawned upon him, but it came accompanied by a contrition that attended him through the remainder of his life: and if at any moment he felt the promptings of self-concentrated satisfaction, which the self-taught and isolated man, (unable to compare himself with the more gifted and more endowed,) is apt to do, he thought of Susan and felt humbled; he thought of her, and looked around with a desire to participate, not appropriate, the feast that has been furnished for all.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

IN Bardney, according to the *Stamford Mercury*, a landlord was in the habit of boasting his own cleverness; so some of his friends actually sent the public crier round with this announcement—

"O yes! O yes! O yes! O yes!—As sure as I'm a tailor,
Our jolly little landlord, he who keeps the Jolly Sailor,
Declares himself, (and doubtless is) long may he live and thrive,)
The cleverest man in Bardney, if not of all alive!

A Mr. O'Halloran (says an English paper) was charged with beating his wife, a handsome and elegant woman. He defended himself in verse, but was checked by the court, and told that he ought to be proud of such a woman. O'Halloran then poetized on the character of women, concluding—

"They're sent on earth to scourge oppressive men;
Believe that voice whose sweetness won such praises
Can hoarsely scream—'You villain, go to blazes!'"

HOWARD'S DEATHBED.—Howard, with no despondency in his tone, but with a calm and settled serenity of manner, as if the death-pangs were already past, went on to speak of his end, and of his wishes as to his funeral. "There is a spot," said he, "near the village of Dauphiney—this would suit me nicely; you know it well, for I have often said that I should like to be buried there; and let me beg of you, as you value your old friend, not to suffer any pomp to be used at my funeral; nor let any monument nor monumental inscription whatsoever be made to mark where I am laid; but lay me quietly in the earth, place a sundial over my grave, and let me be forgotten.' In this train of true Christian philosophy did Howard speak of his exit from a world in which he felt that he had done his work.—*Hepworth Dixon's John Howard and the Prison-World of Europe.*

A FRENCH FASHION.—"Most of the ready-made clothes shops in the Palais Royal have, for the last two or three years, exhibited in front of their étalage certain uncouth wrappers, frabricated of the coarsest possible woollen material, and adorned with buttous of a fabulous size and make. These garments, which the Parisian lounger in his Arcadian innocence fondly imagines to be a sine qua non in every English sportsman's wardrobe—no matter how many of them there may be—are collectively denominated 'coachman;' but this is the only point of resemblance they bear one to another, the various artists employed in their manufacture allowing their imaginations the fullest play both as regards shape, hue, and pattern. In despite, however, of their anomalous character, it would appear that these supposed necessary appendages to a coachbox find favor in the eyes of the French, the supply being constantly on the increase. Nay, more; an establishment has been recently opened on the Boulevard des Italiens, the proprietor of which has evidently based his hopes of success far less on the quality of his goods than on the sonorous originality of his signboard, on which is inscribed, in white letters on a black ground, the following mystic but eye-attracting sentence;—'Aux 25,000 Coachman!'"—*Sharpe's Magazine.*

THE Queen of the Gipsies, Hannah Boss, or Boswell, died in London Union-house on Sunday last, at the advanced age of 99. She entered the Union five years ago, being, through age and infirmity, no longer able to accompany the well-known tribe in their wanderings. The old lady had been connected with the Boswell tribe from her birth.—*Stamford Mercury.*

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Dublin Advocate* describes one of Sir R. Inglis's pro-gallows speeches: "I laughed outright when the learned baronet, in solemn tones, deprecated such an attempt as that of Mr. Ewart to 'losen the ties of society.' The notion of calling the hangman's noose one of the ties of society did appear excessively droll; but there was a claquer on one of the side benches, who cried 'Hear,' and the hon. House, taking up the sound, ratified the dictum as a serious verity."

LORD MONBODDO'S ORIGINAL MAN.—M. Du Courey, traveller in Africa and Asia (says the *Medical Times,*) has lately read before the French Academy an extract from his travels referring to the tribe of the Ghilanes, a breed intermediate in character between man and the monkey family, living in Central Africa (South Soudan.) The following are his notes made on this tribe from what he had learned from the Arabian Djelabs and Nubian, and from what he himself had witnessed in the person of one of the natives:—

"The Ghilanes constitute a peculiar race, as they have a great resemblance to the monkey. Shorter than the other negroes, their height rarely exceeds five feet. Their proportions are generally unharmonious; the body is weak and appears feeble; the arms long and thin; the hands and feet longer and broader than in other tribes; the lower jaw strong and much elongated; their cheeks prominent; the forehead short and strongly directed backwards; the ears long and shapeless? the eyes small, black, brilliant, exceedingly mobile; the nose large and flat; the mouth large, armed with acute teeth, powerful, and exceedingly white; the lips thick and large; the hair curly, but not very woolly, not thick, short; but in this they are specially distinguished, that the vertebral column is continued externally and inferiorly, so that both males and females possess a tail from two to three inches in length."

THE Edinburg correspondent of the *London Weekly News*, suggests that a pension be given to Mr. De Quincy, and adds that he stands in need of such public assistance, and that his amiable family would be much benefited by it.

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